THE SECOND PART OF THE ADDRESS TO THE FREE-MEN AND FREE-HOLDERS OF THE NATION.

By the same Author.

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THE AUTHOR to the READER.

THE kind reception the former Part of this Diſcourſe found in the World hath drawn forth this Second, which had otherwiſe expired in as much Secreſie as it was written. Nor am I concern'd for the future fate of either of them.

But if I might be ſo happy as to diſcover the Errors of thoſe courſes which have brought theſe three Potent Kingdoms, and this moſt Excellent Church into a diſ-eſteem abroad, and great danger at home, and ſo might contribute in the leaſt to the prevention of thoſe Miſchiefs that in time may hazzard the Ruine of them, I ſhould then account my ſelf bleſſed, and my undertaking proſperous, what ever effect it might happen to have upon my private Fortunes.

Next the Preſervation of the publick Peace of any People, the *Advancing* Trade and Commerce, and the Effects, of theſe, Wealth and Power; Reputation and the Conveniences of humane Life, are chiefly to be reguarded; and if I can ſhew that the contrary

of all these will attend the proceeding any further in our late Methods, I shall not question, but all that have any kindness for themselves will see that it is their Interest to desert them.

Commerce and Trade spring Naturally from Peace and Setled Governments; and are cherished and preserv'd by the mutual Trust and Confidence, Love and Kindness which Men have in, and to each other; and where these fail, there is a stop, and sometimes a total ruine of the former.

A very small reflection on the Inconveniences that do attend a War of any Kind, will satisfie a person of mean Capacity, That Trade will stand still when the Sword is in Motion, for Men will not care to venture their Estates or Persons abroad, when they may justly expect to fall into the Hands of Soldiers, who purchase the richest Commodities with their Swords, and pay off the Traders with ready Blows instead of Mony.

The same Effect though not so visibly, must attend any Government that reels and staggers, and seems every day likely (by violence) to be changed into another; for who would imploy his Time, Stock, and Thoughts, to encrease that Wealth, which a Stranger, and it may be his Mortal Enemy, may ravish from him in a moment, after many years toyl and labour to acquire it?

Besides,

Besides, it is not unusual for Merchants (who are quick sighted) when they perceive a Storm to hang over any People, to take Care betimes to lodge their Fortunes, or a considerable part of them, in places that are better secur'd; the Consequence of which is, that not only what was imported is wasted, but much that might have been brought in is diverted, and the Neighbour Nations are by that means Enriched, whilst the Miserable People languish and feel one of the worst Effects of War, Want, *even in the time of a suspicious Unsetled Peace.*

But this (though bad enough) is not all, the richest Men in such Countries, who have any Considerable quantities of Treasure will be likely too, to secure as much as they can well spare abroad; not knowing how soon that which they have by them may fall into other Hands, who will give them but small thanks for it; and it may be, destroy them as they do Bees *towards Winter, that they may rifle the Hive with the greater Security. Thus will much more be Exported that might better have been Kept at Home, and the Wealth of the Nation be insensibly Wasted.*

And without either of these, the distrusts and fears of men amongst themselves will lessen their Industry, and make them court even Poverty it self, when it promiseth more Security than an Invidious Fortune.

But if this Effect be not usual, especially when

Dangers

Dangers are at a distance; yet I suppose few men are so ignorant as not to have observed, that some shaken Governments have endeavoured to secure themselves by the Poverty of their People, who are commonly easiest Govern'd, when like a Ship they are not over-loaden with the weight of too much Wealth, and this must of necessity have a mischievous Effect upon any People, when their Governours contrive their Impoverishment, and promote it in such ways, that they shall feel the Effect, and yet never see the Cause; it is true, we have had nothing of this yet, but who knows how soon we may, if we go on still to provoke it.

I wish I could as truly say, that the Trade and Commerce of these Countries have not designedly been diminished and impaired by them who are opposite to the Establisht Government, with intention to render it uneasie and hated, and the People discontented and ungovernable: but the truth is, there have many things been done of late years, or omitted when they might have been done, which I believe no Mortal can give any sound reason for, if this were not at the bottom; and this hath, and will have the same Influence upon us, as if those that are properly called our Governours had done it.

But not to drive this any further, It is a known Method of promoting broyls in Governments, to stop the Supplies that should preserve and maintain them;

and

and then if a People be really very rich, yet if the Government that should preserve their Wealth be so poor as not to be able to protect them, the People have been always in danger, and sometimes actually ruin'd. Thus was Charles the Martyr brought to yield so much, that at last he was forc'd to defend the rest, and himself with his Sword; which besides all the Blood shed, occasioned the Expence of a vast Treasure; and went very near to the ruine of these Three Nations. I shall not need to determine how far this Course hath been of late pursu'd; but I say it tends to the ruine of our Trade and Commerce, by the same degrees as it makes our Government weak and contemptible in the World.

When the dangers to any Government have arisen from Contending Parties or Factions within it self, nothing is more usual then for those Parties to endeavour the impoverishing of each other by interrupting, diverting, and hindring each others Trades; and refusing each to other the Aid and Assistance that is absolutely necessary for the promoting them; and that this is every day done among us, is too apparent to be denyed; and the Effects this hath upon the whole Trade of the Nation are such, as no man can penetrate to the bottom of them, or tell where the Mischief will end.

That I may make these general Reflections more

useful

useful to my Country-men, I will take a short view of the state of the Trade of England, *since the beginning of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth *of Blessed Memory.*

The State of England *was then very low, and its Condition Deplorable, when God brought that Excellent Prince from the Miseries of a Prison to Support and Restore it; I cannot possibly better represent this than in the Words of* Camden: *'The* State *'of* England *was most miserable at that time, as 'being involved in a War with* Scotland *on the one 'side, and* France *on the other; oppressed with the 'Debts which* Henry *the Eighth, and* Edward *the 'Sixth had Contracted; the Exchequer was Exhau-'sted; Calis and the County of* Oyen, *and in them 'a great Magazine, were lost to the dishonour of the 'English Name; and the People were divided in 'their Opinions concerning Religion. The Queen had 'no Potent Friends, nor was fortified with the * Al-'liance (or Kindred) of any Foreign Princes. The Trade of* England *must of necessity be very small when the Nation was thus Near ruine.*

* Cognatione.

But when the Queen had once setled the business of Religion; and afterwards had taken care to preserve it from Foreign Violence, by Repairing her Navy Royal, so that it was far Superiour to any other; which gave her Reputation at home, and Fame abroad;

abroad; and also from the Attempts of the Papists *and* Dissenters *by severe Laws, constantly put in Execution, and had thereby Won the Affections of her People, and stilled their Fears: They being secur'd thus at home, began to search all the corners of the World for* Trade, *and sent forth their Fleets to the East and West* Indies, *to* Muscovy, *(by the* Bay *of St.* Nicholas *by them Discover'd,) and* Green-Land, *and indeed, whether not? whence they returned with Honour and Wealth, and made her and themselves Happy.*

One thing that gave a great Advantage to the Trade, and consequently to the Wealth of England, *in her time, was the Devastations which the severity of the Duke* de Alva, *and the Wars of* Flanders *thereby occasion'd, caused in those Countries; by which means we gained some Addition to our People, the knowledge of some Manufactures, which we had not before; and also a vast stock of Mony and Treasure, which altogether had like to have totally ruin'd the* Spanish Netherlands; *but however this concurring with the rest, helped to advance* England *to that height of Wealth, and Reputation in the World, that it was in her days the Bulwark of Christendom; and without any considerable forrein Assistance humbled and brought down the* House of Austria, *which then aimed at an Universal Monarchy.*

But then it cannot be denyed, that together with these Low Countrymen, *Factions and Common-Weath Principles entred* England: *And although the severity of that Queen, and the great Affection and Veneration the People had for her, added to her Constancy. whose Motto was* Semper eadem, *Always the same, kept them both under, so as they were never able to give her any considerable disturbance; yet they grew and encreased, and in the Reign of her Successor tugged stoutly in the House of Commons for the Victory with the* Court Party, *as they then stiled all that stood to the Crown, and kept King* James *at Bay, and destitute of those Supplies that were necessary to preserve the Grandeur of the Crown, and the Reputation of* England; *and forced him to spend Seven Years of his Reign without calling any Parliaments; and the last he called, which was in his One and Twentieth Year, involved him in War. And the next, basely Betray'd his Son, who succeeded presently after, to the Necessity of clapping up a Dishonourable Peace for want of Means to carry on a War.*

When King James *came to the Crown, the Dissenters of* England *expected a mighty advantage by it, because* Scotland *had been always* Presbyterian *(from whence he came) during his time, and they hoped his Education might have strongly influenced him to favour them, above the Religion Established; and*

upon

upon this intuition, they procured the Conference at Hampton Court: but alaſs, they had ſo baſely and Traiterouſly uſed him in Scotland, and he was a Prince of that great Learning and Prudence, that when they deſired a kind of Presbyterie to be Setled here; He replyed, 'If you aim at a Scotch Presbyterie, it agreeth with Monarchy as God and the 'Devil; then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick 'ſhall meet, and Cenſure me and my Council. Therefore 'I reiterate my former Speech, Le Roy S' aviſera '(the King will be adviſed;) ſtay I pray for one Se-'ven Years before you demand it, and then if you find 'me grow purſie and fat, I may perchance hearken 'unto you, for that Government will keep me in breath, 'and give me work enough. And in the next Paragraph, he tells them, 'That he had learned by the 'Example of his Mother, and their dealings with him 'in his Minority, this Maxime, NO BISHOP, 'NO KING. So they totally failed of their expected advantage, and were kept under, though with a gentle hand, in all his time. Jan. 14. 1603. Full. C. H. L. 10. p. 13.

But when his Son Succeeded, and in his Parliaments found how ſtrong theſe Factions were, who had in a great meaſure prevailed upon the Free-men, and Free-holders of the Nation, to ſend up thither great Numbers of good Common wealth men, as they then ſtiled them; that is, Factious, Ambitious, Diſloyal

Persons, that hated the Religion and Monarchy by Law Established; and when he saw these made it their business to encrease the necessities of the Crown, and then denyed just and necessary supplies, but upon such terms as would have ruined him; and when he also perceived that one great design of theirs was to render him and his Government odious, by clamoring eternally against his Conduct and Ministers of State. He then saw there was an absolute necessity of a more effectual and vigorous Execution of the Laws against them.

Roger Cokes Englands improvement part. 3. p. 13.

Hereupon these godly men grew impatient, and one part of them in the years 1636, 37, and 38, fled over into *Holland*, and planted themselves at *Leyden*, *Alkmare*, and other places, where they instructed the *Dutch* in our Woollen Manufactures of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; and I have heard (saith my Author who is a credible person) Sir *Charles Harbord* (a person of great Wisdom and Insight in Forreign as well as the Interest of this Nation) say, That if all the Bishopricks of *England* were sold, and given to the Nation, it would not near compensate the loss the Nation sustained thereby. *And page 32 of the same discourse he informs us,* That in the time of our late Wars the Dutch, by the means of these Manufactures, got from the

English

Engliſh the *Eaſt-land* Trade, the Company of which heretofore was above all others the moſt flouriſhing, and by Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles* the Firſt was termed the Royal Company; for it ſupplied *Muſcovy*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Lifeland*, with our Woollen Manufactures, and made very advantagious Returns by Treaſure (eſpecially *Hungaria Duckets*) and the Commodities of thoſe Countries, into *England*. This Trade till King *Charles* his Reign, the *Engliſh* ſolely injoyed. About the beginning of King *Charles* his Reign, the *Dutch* began to be Interlopers rather than Traders with the *Engliſh* in it, but in the time of the Wars, by the aforeſaid means, the *Dutch* allmoſt totally excluded the *Engliſh*. *We may obſerve how much the Trade of the Nation in general ſuffered by all this and eſpecially that of* Norfolk, Suffolk, *and* Eſſex, *of which the ſaid Author gives an inſtance, pag.* 33. *and from thence we may conclude how far the Trade of the Nation hath been, and conſequently may again be, impaired by Factions, if they be encouraged ſtill amongſt us.*

I ought not to paſs over in ſilence, that my laſt quoted Author, Aſcribes this to the ſevere injunctions of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which theſe Zealous people would not indure. And I know that many have uſed

this

this as an Argument against Persecution, and for a Toleration, Comprehension, or (as the new Name is) an Union But I reply, if there were no Factions there could be no Persecution, as they stile it, nor any such dammage of our Trade and Commerce. Secondly, that they were not thus persecuted till they had provoked that King to the uttermost by rendring all Parliaments dangerous to the Crown, and brought things into that State, that neither the Monarchy nor the Religion Established could be any longer preserved without that severity. So we may see if they be treated gently they grow Numerous, and endeavour to subvert the Government; if they be dealt severely with, they over into forreign Countries and destroy our Trade; so that both waies our ruine is almost assured by them, and therefore should be no more incouraged than Pyrates and the common enemies of Mankind.

But to go on: Another part of these people had before
1629. *Planted themselves in* New England *in the* West Indies, *where they have since grown Numerous and Rich, and have abundantly practised that severity upon others who have dissented from them, which they clamoured against, and called persecution, when it was used with more reason against themselves.*

The Dutch *being much exalted by the peace they had made with* Spain, *whereby they were owned and acknowledged for a free and independent State by their*

old

old Sovereign, and having acquired a vaſt Treaſure by their Trade over all the World and by redeeming the places which were put into Queen Elizabeths *hands for ſecurity of repayment of the Expence ſhe was at to protect their feeble infant State, out of the Hands of King* James *; having ſo cut off their former obligations of reſpect to the Crown of* England, *and laſtly being grown ſtrong in Shipping, and knowing very well upon what ill terms King* James *and King* Charles *the Martyr ſtood with their Parliaments; fell to plot the intire deſtruction of the* Engliſh *Trade and Navigation; and in Order to this, fell to endeavour the ruine of the* Engliſh *Fiſhery upon our own proper Seas. They had formerly never Fiſhed till they had begged leave of the King or of his Governour of* Scarborough-Caſtle, *this was now thought beneath the Magnificence of the* Hogan Mogans, *and therefore they refuſed it: They had formerly been limited by our Kings, both for the number of the Veſſells they ſhould Fiſh with and the time. Now they were reſolved to be their own Carvers, and in order to that, denyed the* Engliſh *the Soveraignty of the Britiſh Seas,* 'And as if all this 'had not been enough, grew nearer and nearer upon 'the Engliſh *Shores, year by year, than they did in* 'preceding times, without leaving any bounds for the 'Country people and Natives to Fiſh upon their

His Majeſties propriety and dominion on the Brittiſh Seas. p. 26.

Ib. pag. 29. 30. 55.

Ib. p. 6.

'Princes

'Princes Coasts, and oppressed some of his Sub-
'jects with intent to continue their pretended possession;
'and had driven some of their great Vessells, through
'their Netts, to deter others by fear of the like Vio-
'lence from Fishing near them, &c. as Secretary
Pag. 58. Nanton, January 21. 1618. acquaints the Lord Ambassador Carlton: And to justify all this, they sent out Men of War with their Fishermen to maintain that by force, which they might have had of Courtesie for the asking. To prevent these disorders of the Dutch, King James Published a Proclamation in the seventh year of his Reign, to assert his Right, and exclude all Persons from Fishing upon our Seas, without particular License; but they neither valued this nor his Remonstrances by his Ambassadors, nor the like Proclamation made in the twelfth year of his Sons Reign, but went on by all the Crafts and Violences imaginable to ruine our Fishery; to subvert the Right and Soveraignty the Kings of England have ever had to the Narrow Seas. And all this only upon a presumption that those Princes would never be able to call them to an account by a War for all these Injuries.

The Reign of King Ch. fol. London. 1655. pag. 163. And in the year 1639, they fell upon a Fleet of Spaniards in our Ports and Harbours with Canon and Fire-ships, so furiously, as made them all cut their Cables, and being 53 in Number, 23 ran on shore,

and

and ſtranded in the Downs, *whereof Three were burnt, Two ſunk, and Two periſhed on the Shoar; the remainder of the Twenty three being deſerted by the* Spaniards, *who went to Land, were Manned by the* Engliſh *to ſave them from the* Dutch; *and the other Thirty Ships put to Sea, of which only Ten eſcaped; thus far for the Narrative in ſhort. And now be pleaſed to read the Opinion of the Hiſtorian upon this.*

'*Theſe Two Potent Enemies, being both Friends* *Ibid.* p. 165.
'*to* England, *the* Britiſh Seas *ought by rule of*
'*State to have been an Harbour of Retreat to ſecure*
'*the Weaker from the Stronger, not the Scene of*
'*their Hoſtile Ingagement, and had this preſumptuous*
'*Attempt of the* Hollander *met with a King, or in*
'*times of another temper, it would not it's like, have*
'*been ſo ſilently connived at, and their Victory might*
'*have coſt them the loſs of* Englands *Correſpondence,*
'&c. *beſides the King, the* Dutch *well knew was*
'*of a Genius, as not querulous, ſo if provoked very*
'*placable, and the* Diſpoſition *of his Affairs, as*
'*well as of his Mind, diſſwaded from expoſtulating*
'*the Matter with them. To that height of injuſtice and inſolence were the* Dutch *then grown, by the Diviſions of* England, *and the ill underſtanding betwixt the King and his Subjects. This unfortunate Prince had made many brave Attempts before, for the Honour*

and Safety of the English Nation *without any good ſucceſs, for want of ſuch Effectual Supplies from his Parliaments as might enable him to go through with them; and he had taken up a generous Reſolution to encreaſe the Navy Royal to a greatneſs proportionable to the* Dutch, *and other neighbour Nations, who were now ſtriving for the Maſtery of the Seas by out-building each other. He got nothing from the Commons in Parliament that was conſiderable, but with great difficulty, and accompanied with Remonſtrances, Impeachments of the Chief Miniſters, complaints of Grievances, and lowd Clamours of pretended fears and jealouſies of Popery, Arminianiſm, Innovations in matters of Religion; and as faſt as this Prince gratified them in one thing, they ſtarted another Game, hoping at laſt to ruine this Excellent Prince by his own Conceſſions, as at length they did; for theſe ſober Proteſtants were reſolved never to leave asking, till they had brought their King to be their Equal firſt; and at laſt, under them. This procedure did in part diſcover the Deſign, and neceſſitated him to ſtretch his Prerogative to find ſome ſmall Relief for his urgent and preſſing Neceſſities; by Monopolies, Knight-mony, Loans upon Privy Seals, and at laſt Ship-money; great parts of which Moneys were employed upon the Building Ships for the encreaſe of the Royal Navy: which he did to*

that

that height, that it was ſo Invincible to any Humane Power, that though Sir William Batten *in* 1648. *carried a very Conſiderable part of it to his Now Majeſty, yet the remainder of it with a ſmall Addition beat the* Dutch *for all their many years Preparations. Yet firſt, all thoſe that ſignalized themſelves by oppoſing the King in theſe Levies moſt, were choſen into the following Parliaments, as the beſt Patriots and Common-wealth-men, and theſe again made it their buſineſs in Parliament by joyning with the Rebellious* Scots *to involve us in that accurſed War which endangered not only the ruine of our Government and Trade, but our very Being.*

In the beginning of that War, the Parliament-ſide went down, and in likelihood the King and his Party had finally prevailed, if the Scots *had not broke out again upon the ſolicitation of the* Engliſh *Parliament, without the leaſt cauſe given them by the King. And during this time, and afterwards too,* * Walker upon the Parliament, begun in 1640. *pag.* 143. *Sect.* 5. And in the Remonſtrance of many Thouſands in and about the City of *London*; dated *Mar.* 22. 1648. to the Army, is this Paſſage. Then ſhall thoſe faithful Perſons who hazarded all for the Parliament, and many of them lent more than their whole Eſtates, and now live in Priſon, nay ſtarve for want of it, not be put to devour Cathedrals, and ranſack the Monuments of the Dead, but be honeſtly paid with thanks and requitals; then ſhall not the Publick Faith be out pawned, and ſo little care taken to Redeem it, whilſt Millions of Treaſure have been conveyed beyond the Seas. *Pag.* 3. I ſuppoſe this was not all private Treaſures, though the loſs is the ſame to the Nation, if it were ſo.

* *Page* 12. *Sect.* 19. Of the Relations and Obſervations

in his History of Presbytery *and* Independency *hath acquainted us; That many of the Parliament* Grandees, *who besides their own Wealth which was great, had drawn in most of the Treasure and Plate of the Nation, on specious pretences and the Publick Faith, sent huge sums over to the Banks in* Holland *and the* Western Plantations, *that in case the King should finally prevail, they might have a place of Retreat, where they might enjoy the Blood and Tears of the poor deluded People in safety and security.*

But this was not all, during this War the English *Trade both at home and abroad was almost totally Ruin'd, many Thousands of Tradesmen were either Undone, or Killed and Destroyed, or forced to seek quieter Habitations beyond the Seas; above one half of the Nation (the* West *and the* North) *were almost totally ruined and depopulated by the War; and the other half by excessive Taxes, Excise, Sequestrations, &c. by all which ways I have seen an Account Printed, That there was about Forty Millions of Money Collected and Spent within the space of a few years by that Parliament side only, not one farthing of which turned to any account to the Nation. But in the interim, the wise* Dutch *drive on the Trade of almost the whole World, and only furnished the King with Armes and Ammunition for the Jewels of the*

Relation of the Parliament, begun 1640. p. 8. Sect. 14.

the Crown; and dealt with the Parliament for Timber, which they sold of the Crown-Lands, Church-Lands, and the Sequestred Estates of the Gentry and Nobility; which Timber the Dutch *wisely employed in Building Ships to ruine the prevailing side when the War was done, and then they did not question but to be the Soveraigns of the Ocean, and of all the Trade and Commerce that is exercised on it; and to speak the truth, they had then some reason to hope it might have happened so: For if* England *had once been brought under, no other State could have disputed the point with them; and* England *was then preparing it self for ruine, by giving the* Hollanders *more advantages than their Modesty could have wished for.*

The last cited Remonstrance to the Army. p. 4.

And the Dutch *were so confident, that the Success would answer their Expectations; that they grew impatient to have Possession of their almost assured Mastery: and before our Internal Broyls were over, and the Nation setled any way, in the Year* 1652. *set upon our Fleet in the* Downs, *and if the Advantage of almost two to one, and an unexpected Assault, had not been over-ruled by the Providence of God, and the unparallell'd Valour of the* English, *they had certainly destroyed them, as they did the* Spanish Fleet *in the same place about Ten Years before; and although the* English *fortune and Cou-*

rage

rage prevailed then, and in the whole Course of that War, and brought down the Craft, Treachery and Pride of the Hollanders; *yet was the whole Glory of these Victories, in which the* Rump *boasted so much, (next Gods Mercy to these poor Nations) owing solely to the Providence of that Prince they had but a little before so basely Murdered as an Enemy to God and his People, and then stiled the Tyrant: As Mr.* Coke *hath well observed in his Preface to the fourth Treatise,* Of the Improvement of England. *To which excellent Discourses I refer my Reader. All that I shall infer from hence, is, that I hope the Nation will never run the same hazard of losing all their Foreign Trade again, by siding with factious Men against the Monarchy.*

The Rump *having beaten the* Dutch, *found a more dangerous Enemy at home, and being generally now hated by the People, were without any difficulty*
1654. *turned out by* Oliver Cromwel *their Hypocritical Servant; who to secure himself in his ill gotten Possession of the Government, made an unsetled and dishonourable Peace with the* Dutch. *Which they imployed in Building much larger and more Men of War than they had before, to prevent the Ruine of their States by another* English War; *which could not be concealed from* Oliver, *who likewise encreased the* English Fleet *with many more, and considerable*

ble Men of War: as the last Cited Author tells us.

As O. C. *lost the* English *the Advantage of their Naval Victories by that Peace he made with the* Dutch, *which left the* English *nothing but a little unprofitable Glory, and the blows they had received from the* Hollanders, *whilst it gave them opportunity to grow rich, and prepare for another Attempt: So our Tyrant fell soon after into another extravagance; he had always an Enthusiastick Conceit that God had raised him up to pull down the Whore of* Babylon, *the Man of Sin, the Antichristian* Pope *of* Rome; *and this led him into a War with* Spain, *believing that Prince to be the only Bullwark of the Papacy: and his Attempts upon the Islands in the* West Indies, *and the Plate Fleets belonging to* Spain, *not having that success he desired by reason of their distance, or perhaps being out-witted by the* French Ministers, *he fell in the next place (in Conjunction with* France) *upon the* Spaniards *in* Flanders; *in which War,* Dunkirk *was taken, and cunningly Surrendred to* Oliver *by the* French, *in hopes to encourage our silly Upstart to go on and help them to Conquer the rest: but two fatal mischiefs attended this, The first was, that our* Spanish *Trade, which was one of the best and most profitable the* English *then had left, was interrupted and in danger to be totally lost, as all the* Eastern *Traffick was rendred*

very

very unſecure by the Oſtenders. *The Second was, That the Ballance of* Chriſtendom *was broken, and the* French *Intereſt brought to that height, as to over-power all the Neighbouring Princes, and in ſome ſort, to Compel His Majeſty before he was well ſetled after his Reſtitution to reſel them* Dunkirk. *But theſe things were above the Politicks of our* Oliver, *who was a better Souldier than a Stateſman.*

How the Domeſtick Trade of England *was likely to flouriſh in this Mans time, may be eaſily conjectured by any man that will but reflect on the Vaſt Taxes were then Arbitrarily raiſed without Parliaments; and the Standing Armies that were then kept on Foot, only becauſe he durſt not Disband them, who had no other Title than the Sword had given him; and when God called him in the Year,* 1658. *to give an account for all the Villanies he had perpetrated with ſo much Treachery, Perjury and Impiety; neither his Son* Richard *who Succeeded him, nor any of thoſe various Governments, which within the ſpace of Two Years followed, were able to Eſtabliſh themſelves; ſo that during that time, there was nothing but Treachery, Rapine, Confuſion, and Diſtruſt to be found in the* Engliſh Nation: *and it was only Gods infinite Mercy and Goodneſs which reſcued us and our Trade from total Ruine, by the peaceable Reſtitution of our Now moſt gracious Soveraign.*

When

When His Majesty returned, he brought nothing over with him but a Vast Debt, contracted in his Exile to preserve him, and his, in a mean Condition from starving; and he found nothing here at home but an empty Exchequer; a People exhausted with Twenty Years War and Misery; all his Pallaces disfurnished, his Magazines rifled, his Armory wasted, his Ammunition spent or imbezzel'd, and the remainder of the Army which had great Arrears due to them, to be Disbanded and Paid off. All these things call'd for large Supplies, and they were as Loyally and freely granted by our Parliaments, as Generously imployed by His Majesty to these uses.

But then these Good-Common-Wealth-men who had Taxed and Plundered the Nation without mercy for twenty years before, all on a suddain turned tender hearted, and begun to bemoan the good Peoples hardships in the payment of such Sums as their own Villanies and Treasons had made necessary: and not contented with this, encited the Dutch *by large Promises of Assistance to enter another War with us, which (though we prevailed) had fatal Consequences, the Plague falling in with it, and a great part of the City of* London *being Burnt at the same time, which Fire is said to have been began by some of these godly Male-Contents, (on purpose without doubt to promote Trade;) though the whole blame is now laid*

Skynneri Motuus Compositi.

Bedloes *narr. of the P. Plot. for the Burning of* London. *pag.* 14. Oats *his Nar. Artic.* 34.

laid upon the Jesuits, *who might possibly put the Fifth Monarchy-men upon it: and hath been since owned.*

I Consider, That I am Writing a Preface to a small Book, and therefore endeavour to be short; and for ought I know, may be dark: but if all this be reflected on, as it ought, it will be a wonder not that our Trade is so little, but that it is not totally Ruin'd.

But then my dear Countrymen, may not Heaven and Earth stand amazed at our Stupidity and folly, if we shall still go on stubbornly in those very ways which we have found so destructive to us: but there is a greater wonder in it yet; we stabb and wound our own Vitals (our Trade and Commerce,) and at the same time, pretend we are horribly afraid others should ruin us many years hence; we caress and cherish these very Men and Factions, that once before Impoverished us to almost Beggery, we are hard at Work to ruine that Government, by making it odious to the People, under which England *hath flourished in Wealth and Power, in Reputation and Peace at home and abroad so many Ages, and to set up one in the stead of it, which within the memory of Man, so narrowly missed of Ruining us forever. Do you think another domestick War will encrease the Wealth, or Trade, or Navigation, or Reputation of* England.

Consider your Sea-coast Towns, from Dover *to* Barwick,

Barwick, *and observe how many of them are falling down, or empty of Inhabitants, or possest by Men that are able to drive no Trades: Consider the Fishery of all sorts, consider the falls of your Rents and Farms; and when you have thought seriously of them, think once more whether the pretended fears of* Popery *and* Arbitrary Government *ought so to possess you, and to keep you intirely from reflecting on what doth more immediatly concern you, and which if but a little longer Neglected, will end if not in* Popery, *in* Beggery; *if not in* Arbitrary Government, *in* Anarchy, War, *and* Confusion.

But though Men may Consider these things as much, or as little as they please, yet I crave the Liberty to Conclude upon the whole, That whoever promotes Factions in Church or State, is an Enemy to Trade and Commerce, and that when ever the Government of this, or any other Country is indangered, the Traffick of that place will suffer proportionably; so that let them pretend what they will to the contrary, they that promote our present Disturbances are as great Enemies to the Free-men and Free-holders of the Nation, and all that are any way concerned in Trade, as they are either to the Crown or the Church.

THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
ADDRESS
TO THE
FREE-MEN and FREE-HOLDERS
OF THE
NATION.

HIS Majesty had no sooner declared the Long Loyal Parliament Dissolved, and by His Royal Writ, Commanded another to be chosen, to meet the Sixth of *March* following, but the Subjects in every place became divided amongst themselves, and there being men, *not only of different*, but of opposite Interests offered to the People; the choice was rendred very difficult and uncertain, but the Opposition, Feuds and Passions of the Contending Parties was apparent and certain enough.

The Dissenters in the interim, who had with much impatience expected this day of Deliverance from this terrible Parliament, and had sought the Dissolution of it so many Years, by all those Arts I have described in the

the former Part now began to lift up their heads, expecting to have another tugg for the Day, and having before wrought upon the meaneſt but moſt Numerous part of the *Free-men* and *Free-holders*, and the weakeſt of the Gentry, by jading their Ears with tedious canting Diſcourſes againſt Humane Inſtitutions, Perſecuting Gods People, and Arbritrary Government; and now of late, with Tragical Repreſentations of the Popiſh Plot, Maſſacres, Popery, and Superſtition; flew from their ſullen retirements, and Riding Night and Day about the Villages, and trudging about the Corporations, incited thoſe they found willing, and perſwaded, intreated, and ſometimes hired thoſe they found leſs diſpoſed to joyn with them, and by the choice of a ſober Proteſtant Parliament, (as they pretended) to deliver the Nation from *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, which were good Words, but had a Knaviſh ſignification in their Senſe, and if any Man ſmelt it out, and told them truly, they were neither for *Popery* nor *Arbitrary Government*, nor yet for *Puritaniſm* and a *Common-wealth*; they ran him down with noiſe, or traduced him behind his back to their Neighbours as a *Papiſt* in Maſquerade, and a Man of *Arbitrary Principles*.

But if a Man had but chanced to drop a Word by way of queſtioning the Truth of one Tittle the many Informers had given out concerning the *Plot*, or theſe Zealots had raiſed by way of Conſequence, preſently they flew in his face, and villified him as a defamer of the Kings Evidence, a concealer of the *Plot*; and could hardly forbear ſaying, He was a Party to it, and one of the Conſpirators in it. As if we had not only been bound to ſubmit our Faith and Reaſon as intirely to Mr. *Oats*'s Relation in every *Punctilio*, as to the Evangeliſts upon which he Swore it; but alſo to

what

what Inferences a Faction ſhould draw from it. From hence they proceeded to inſinuate into the Populace, That thoſe Loyal Gentlemen who had been Members of the late long Loyal Parliament, who were then call'd the *Court Party*, had joyn'd with the Court, to hinder the Diſcovery of the *Plot*, and promote the Deſignes of the *Papiſts* upon us: And although there was not one ſyllable of Truth in this, yet they aſſerted it with that confidence, and added ſo many proteſtations, often interrupting their oppoſites with ſuch queſtions as theſe, What, you are for *Popery*? you are willing to have all your Throats Cut? and the like, that they perſwaded too great a Number to joyn with them in the Excluſion of thoſe Gentlemen.

In the next place, fearing the greateſt hindrance from the conformable Clergy and the Biſhops, they repreſented them amongſt their Confidents as nothing better than the *Papiſts*; and amongſt the reſt, as Men that had a mighty kindneſs for *Popery* in their hearts, (where theſe prying people ſpied it) though they durſt not diſcover it for the preſent, and with great Aſſurance ſaid, that they would certainly all turn *Papiſts* if the *Plot* went on; though Mr. *Oates* had aſſured them their Places were diſpoſed of to others before hand, and they muſt expect nothing but beggery, aſſaſſination, and Ruine: But yet the people who never conſider any thing, believe them in this too.

In the next place, they were to deal with the Gentry and Magiſtrates, and here the task was harder, for theſe were never to be wrought over generally to them; but amongſt them, ſome were their friends of old, others had come half way over to gain the Reputation of Moderate Men; others had been diſguſted by the Government; and ſome few had Relations amongſt the Diſſenters, or Children, and Brothers Apprentices,

Apprentices, Journey-men, and Factors to them, and these Interests prevail'd upon to joyn with them; the rest they blasted what they could by the same Arts they did the Clergy, averring they were *Papists*, or favourers of *Papists* and *Popery*; especially, if they had any relations of that Religion; or had shewed the least kindness to their *Popish* Neighbours in the first Discovery of the Plot, or had had any acquaintance with them before the Plot.

And having by all these multiply'd Slanders, got over a very considerable part of the meaner people, and yet fearing the party might be too weak, they made fraudulent Conveyances for Twenty four hours of their Freehold-Lands and Tenements to their Neighbours, by this means creating Twenty Mushrom Voters, sometimes out of Forty pounds a year, and some that were less scrupulous took the Gifts by word of Mouth, without Livery or Seizin, Lease or Release; and some gave Twelve pence in part of payment for those Lands and Tenements they never meant, nor were ever able to Purchase further, and so became qualified to give their Votes as they thought; and others gave their Children that were Infants part of their Estates with them, and brought them along for company; and in the interim, the Wealthy sort of Men hired Horses, or gave Mony to the more Needy to give their Votes for the precious Men that were to keep out *Popery*.

The Conventicle Teachers rallied up their Flocks, all but the Aprons, and they were unwillingly enough left at home; The old Committee Men, Sequestrators; Army Officers, and Soldiers of the last Rebellion; who had kept holes ever since His Majesties Return for Grief, Confusion, and Fear, now all took the Field again to Vote too: and with these joyned all those unwilling

willing Conformists whether Clergy or Layety who have complyed with the Religion Established, with purpose to ruine it as soon as it is possible, and in the interim, great gain is godliness with them: and does any man believe all these Forces were thus Mustered up for the Service of His Majesty, the Safety of the Monarchy, and the preservation of the Religion and Government Establish'd?

The persons they recommended to the people to be chosen again, were first, all those Gentlemen, who calling themselves the *Country Party* in the former Parliament had appeared most Zealously against the Queen, his Royal Highness, and the Ministers of State: to these they added as many as they could of the Reliques of the old Rebellion, or their Children, and made up the Number out of the moderate and discontented Gentlemen, Burgesses, and Trades-men, taking in here and there an honest Gentleman in hopes to win him to their side by this kindness; and sometimes this pittiful Project took.

For my part, I think nothing could more confirm the Testimony of Mr. *Oats* who informs us, 'That the 'Catholick Religion was to be brought in the same 'way that they had used for the Destruction of the Fa- 'ther of the King, and as that could not be effected till 'much Blood was spilt on BOTH SIDES, so 'this must be effected by effusion of Blood, and this 'he Expounds was to be done by weakning and divi- 'ding the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, 'by Civil Wars and Rebellions, as in His (Majesties) 'Fathers time, to make way for the *French* to Seize 'these Kingdoms, and totally to Ruine their Infantry 'and Naval Force: These are Mr. *Oats* his Words, and whoever had seen the persons Must'red up, about the chooſing this Parliament, would have thought, that

Act. 22.

Pag. 64.

Forty One had been returned again, and that the Jesuits under the shape of Nonconformist Ministers had been turning the *Plot* that way, now God had defeated the close one.

But though all this Care was taken, the Dissenters did not carry the Elections every where, nor almost any where without great Resistance. For on the other side, the Gentry appeared themselves, and brought in their Tenants and Dependences; and many of the Yeomanry and Free-holders were Zealous for the Church and Government, and in Corporations, the Magistrates and Free-men, had not forgot the old tricks of the Dissenters; and were resolved not to be ruin'd twice by the same Arts, so that the two Parties were almost equal there, and in the Counties the Gentry were certainly the stronger side, if Perjury had not been employed against them; and in some places they prevailed against that too, but not so as to make an equal Party in the House.

The Persons that stood on this side, were Men of Undoubted Loyalty to the King, hearty lovers of the Religion Established, and great Enemies to Puritanism, Faction, and Rebellion; and for these good qualities were stiled by the contrary Party-men of *Arbitrary Principles*, and favourers of *Popery*: some of these had been Members of the Last Parliament, and been of that they call the *Court Party*, who had been guilty of Setling the Monarchy, and Suppressing the Rebellion, and the Nurseries of it the Conventicles; and others were taken in to fill up the vacancies, of or very nearly of the same Principles.

The Elections being thus made, the Parliament met the day appointed, which was Thursday the sixth of *March*, 1678. and my business is to wait upon them, and see how matters went in the Lower House especially;

cially; and as an Introduction I will take notice of His Majesty's Speech in the first place; part of which was as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I Meet you here with the most earnest desire that man 'can have to Unite the Minds of all my Subjects, 'both to me, and to one another; and I resolve it shall 'be your faults, if the Success be not suitable to my 'desires, I have done many great things already, in 'order to that end; as the Exclusion of the Popish 'Lords from their Seats in Parliament; the Execution 'of several men, both upon the Score of the *Plot*, and 'of the Murder of Sir *Edmonberry Godfrey*, and it is 'apparent that I have not been idle in prosecuting the 'discovery of both, as much further as hath been 'possible in so short a time.

'I have disbanded as much of the Army as I could 'get Mony to do, and I am ready to disband the rest, 'so soon as you shall reimburse the Mony they have cost 'me, and will inable me to pay off the remainder: 'And above all I have Commanded my Brother to 'absent himself from me, because I would not leave 'the Malicious Men room to say, I had not removed 'all causes which could be pretended to influence me 'towards Popish Counsels.

'Besides that end of Union which I am at, (and 'which I wish could be extended to Protestants abroad 'as well as at home) I propose by this last great step 'I have made, to discern whether Protestant Religion, 'and the Peace of the Kingdom be as truly aimed at 'by others, as they are really intended by me, for if 'they be, you will imploy your time upon the great 'concerns of the Nation, and not be drawn to promote 'private animosities under pretences of the publique;

'your Proceedings will be calm and peaceable, in 'order to those good ends I have recommended to you, 'and you will curb the motions of any unruly Spirits 'which would endeavour to disturb them. I hope 'there will be none such amongst you, because there 'can be no man that must not see how fatal differences 'amongst our selves are like to be at this time both at 'home or abroad.

'I shall not cease my endeavours, dayly to find out 'what more I can both of the *Plot*, and Murder of Sir '*Edmondberry Godfrey*, and shall desire the Assistance 'of both my Houses in that work.

'I have not been wanting in giving orders for 'putting all the present Laws in Execution against 'Papists, and I am ready to joyn in the making 'such further Laws as may be necessary for securing of 'the Kingdom against Popery.

And after a short discourse of supply's he goes on.

'I will conclude as I begun, with my earnest de-'sires to have this, a Healing Parliament, and I do 'give you this Assurance, that I will with my 'life defend both the Protestant Religion and the 'Laws of this Kingdom, and I do expect from you 'to be defended from the Calumny as well as Danger 'of those worst of men, who endeavour to render me 'and my Government odious to my people.

By which last passage I believe his Majesty reflected upon the Dissenters and Commonwealth Party, who as they were more believed, so they had been more busie in traducing him, and that with a more Mischievous Malice and effect than the worst Jesuits, during this short time, betwixt the Dissolution of the last and the Election of this present Parliament, and therefore his Majesty had reason to tell the Parliament he expected

to

to be defended by them from the Calumny, (of the Diſſenters) as well as from the danger of the Papiſts, (both which are) the worſt of men, as who did endeavour to render him and his Government Odious to his people.

The Lord Chancellor's Speech was for the moſt part but an enlargement upon his Majeſtie's, as it uſes to be; and therefore I ſhall take notice of ſome paſſages only in it.

'He adviſed them not to overdo their buſineſs, and 'by being too far tranſported with the fears of Popery, 'neglect the opportunities they then had of making 'ſober and laſting proviſions againſt it.

'He told them it was a Cuſtom of the Jeſuits, firſt 'to Murder the fame of Princes, and then their per-'ſons, firſt ſlandering them to their people, as if they 'favoured Papiſts, and then to aſſaſſinate them for 'being too Zealous Proteſtants.

'He repreſented what a joy it would be to them, 'to ſee us whom they could not deſtroy by the con-'ſpiracy, Ruining our ſelves after the diſcovery, by 'incurable jealouſies and diſturbing the Govern-'ment.

'And that further care might be taken of Regula-'ting the Preſs, from whence there daily ſtole forth 'Popiſh *Catechiſms*, *Pſalters*, and Books of Contro-'verſie, and Seditious and Schiſmatical Libells 'too.

We ſhall now ſee how theſe Counſells were purſued by the Parliament.

The firſt thing the Houſe of Commons did, was to chooſe *Edward Seymour*, Eſquire, their former Speaker, their Speaker again. But the next day the King diſliking the choice, and Commanding them to make a new one, they returned and Adjourned till *Saturday* Morning.

Morning. But not agreeing then, they desired a further time; which was granted till *Tuesday* following: The King telling the Messengers, *that* as he would not have his Prerogative intrencht upon, *so* he would not do any thing against the Priviledges of the House.

But then instead of Presenting a new Speaker, they Presented a Representation, Claiming it as a Right to have that Speaker they chose accepted, if he were not excused for some Corporal Disease, which hath always (heretofore) been alleadged either by themselves or some others, in their behalf in full Parliament, as they said.

But his Majesty not admitting this neither, they Adjourned till *Wednesday*, and drew up another Address to have the former better considered, and to this his Majesty replied he would send them an answer the next day. And accordingly,

On *Thursday* he sent for them up to the House of Lords, and Prorogued them for one day, and on *Saturday* morning sent for them again, and by the Lord Chancellor Commanded them to proceed to the Choice of a Speaker, and Present him on *Munday* Morning; which they accordingly did; and then they chose Mr. *Sergeant Gregory*, of whom his Majesty approved on the *Monday* following.

It was Ominous thus to stumble at the Threshold; and therefore there is no great wonder if after this, much of his Majesties and the Lord Chancellors good Counsell relating to calmness in the Management of their Affairs was forgotten.

Tuesday, *Wednesday*, and a great part of *Thursday* the 20*th* day of *March*, being spent in the preliminaries, and in receiving and reading the shoal of Petitions, concerning undue Elections and Returns, on the Evening

of

of the laſt day, the Commons ſent a Meſſage to the Lords to put them in mind of the Impeachments of High Treaſon againſt *Thomas* Earl of *Danby*, in the names of the Commons of *England*, and to deſire he might be Committed to ſafe Cuſtody.

And referred it to the Committee of Secrecy to draw up further Articles againſt him. By which it appeared that they were reſolved to begin where the former Parliament ended; ſo that men eaſily conjectured what would follow. And ſome there were that ſuggeſted, as if his place was his greateſt Crime, and that the ruin of a Miniſter of State in order to fright the reſt of the Miniſters was more ſought, than the Puniſhment of any Traytor whether Popiſh or Proteſtant.

In the week following it appearing that the Earl of *Danby* had a pardon by his Majeſties mentioning of it in the Houſe of Lords. And a Committee being appointed to ſearch it out, returned on *Monday* the 24*th* of *March*, that it had not been Regularly ſued out, but was Sealed in the King's preſence by his expreſs Command. Upon which the Commons ſent up a Meſſage to the Lords to demand Juſtice againſt him, and ordered an Addreſs to his Majeſty to repreſent the dangerous Conſequences of granting Pardons to any perſons that lie under an Impeachment of the Commons of *England*.

And the ſame day the Lords ſent word to the Commons that they had ordered him to be taken into Cuſtody.

On *Tueſday* the 25*th* of *March*, the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, that the Earl of *Danby* was not to be found, upon which the Commons ordered a Bill to be brought in to Summon him by a certain day, or in default thereof to Attaint him. 1679.

Mr.

Mr. *Edward Sacvile* a Member of the Houſe of Commons, being accuſed by Mr. *Oats*, to have called the truth of the Plot and Murder of Sir *Edmonberry Godfrey* in queſtion was ordered to be committed to the Tower, Expelled the Houſe, and an Addreſs made to his Majeſty for the removing him from all Publick Imployments and Truſts. This was a ſure way to have the Plot believed.

On *Wedneſday* there having before been a Complaint brought againſt one *Hills* and *Edwin*, for Printing a Pamphlet intituled, A Letter from a Jeſuite at *Paris* to his Correpondent in *London:* Shewing the moſt effectual way to ruin the Government and the Proteſtant Religion; was to promote the Diſſenters Intereſt, and to chuſe factious men into the Houſe of Commons. And it appearing, that Dr. *John Nalſon* was the Author of it, there being no Law to puniſh this offence, the ſaid Doctor was ordered to be ſent for in Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, to inform the Houſe touching the ſaid Pamphlet.

The ſame day a Bill was ſent down from the Lords, Intituled, an Act for the better diſcovery and ſpeedy Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants. Which had been ſent down in the former Seſſion of Parliament time enough to have been paſſed, but was neglected, which was read the day following.

On *Thurſday* the 27*th* of *March*, the Lords ſent down a Bill for the Baniſhing and Diſabling the Earl of *Danby* (which his Majeſty had profered to do) and deſired the Concurrence of the Houſe of Commons, which the Commons read and rejected that day.

But notwithſtanding the Commons went on with the Bill of Attainder againſt him, and ordered a Clauſe to be added for the diſcovery of all truſts relating to him, and that he ſhould be made incapable of receiving

receiving pardon but by Act of Parliament, wherein he ſhall be particularly Named.

The ſame day the Lords ſent down a Bill to diſinable any perſon from Sitting in any of the Houſes of Convocation, till he hath taken the Oaths, and made and ſubſcribed the Declaration therein contained.

On *Friday*, a Bill was read for better ſecuring the liberty of the Subjects.

Sir *Chriſtopher Calthrop* Knight, who was returned one of the Knights of the Shire for *Norfolk*, being then ſick of the *Small-pox*, deſired that the Caſe in difference betwixt him and Sir *John Hobard* Baronet, which was to be heard on *Friday* next, might be delayed, which was denyed.

Note, That *Calthrop* was of the Court-party, and *Hobard* of the Country-party.

But to look a little back: On *Monday* the 25*th* of *March*, the Houſe of Lords ſent to examin the five Lords in the Tower, concerning a *French* Book about the Plot, the Author of which had it ſeems endeavoured to invalidate Mr. *Oats* his teſtimony, but they would not own they knew the Author.

The ſame day the Vote mentioned in the former Part, of the reality of the Popiſh Plot, which had been renewed by the Commons, and ſent up to the Lords for their concurrence, was Voted by the Lords, and ordered to be inſerted in the firſt leaf of the Office, to be publickly uſed on the day * appointed by his Majeſty for ſolemn Faſting and Humiliation, at the requeſt of both Houſes.

* 11 *of* April.

On *Saturday* the 29*th*, the Lords agreed to have a Bill brought in to expell out of the Inns of Court, *Doctors Commons*, the College of Phyſicians, and Heralds office, all ſuch perſons as ſhall not give teſti-

of their being Proteſtants, by going to Church, and by taking the Sacrament, and ſuch Oaths, Teſts, and Declarations as are appointed by any Law, for the diſtinguiſhing Proteſtants from Papiſts, and that none ſhall hereafter be Admitted into any of the ſaid Societies, that ſhall not do the ſame.

And that an Addreſs ſhould be made to his Majeſty, that all perſons who bring up, or ſuffer their Children to be bred up, in the Popiſh Religion, may by his Majeſties order be put out of all publick Employments, civil, and military, whereof they are now poſſeſſed; AND that for the future no perſon may be put into or continued in any employment, civil or military, who ſhall knowingly Marry a Papiſt. Theſe laſt particulars are moſt worthy to be paſſed into an Act of Parliament.

On *Tueſday* the firſt of *April*, the Commons finiſhed the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of *Danby*, and ſent it up to the Lords.

After which they paſſed this Vote.

Reſolved, *That the continuing of any ſtanding Forces in this Nation, other than the Militia, is illegal and a great Grievance and Vexation to the people.*

This is the firſt Vote that was ever made againſt his Majeſties Guards ſince his return, tho there have been Parliaments ſitting ever ſince.

On *Thurſday* the 3*d* of *April* the Articles of Impeachment againſt *William* Earl of *Powys*, *William* Viſcount *Stafford*, *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, *William* Lord *Petre*, and *John* Lord *Bellaſyſe*, were brought into the Houſe of Commons, and received.

And a Bill about the Convocation ſent down by the Lords, and another to Regulate the Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament, were read the firſt time, and ordered a ſecond Reading.

Friday

Friday the 4*th* of *April*, An Act for the better diſcovery and more ſpeedy Conviction of Popiſh Recuſants, ſent down from the Lords, was read the ſecond time, and Committed to a Committee, who were alſo to bring in a Clauſe to prevent any of the Royal Family from matching with Popiſh Recuſants.

Was not this that tacking of things of a different Nature together, which his Majeſty had reſolved againſt, as he told the Houſes in theſe words about a year before?

'One thing more I have to add, and that is, to let 'you know, that I will never more ſuffer the courſe 'and method of paſſing Laws to be changed; and that 'if ſeveral matters ſhall ever again be tacked together 'in one Bill, that Bill ſhall certainly be loſt, let the 'importance of it be never ſo great. *His Majeſties Speech the 23 of May, 1678.*

But it was reſolved it ſeems now to try whether he would be as good as his word, and if he were, then the clamour ſhould be, that he was againſt the ſpeedy conviction of Popiſh recuſants.

Beſides this was no ſuch trivial thing but that it might have deſerved a diſtinct Bill.

The ſame day the Bill againſt the Earl of *Danby* being delivered back by the Lords at a Conference with ſome Amendments, the Commons referr'd the conſideration of the Amendments to be conſidered the next day, and ordered an Addreſs to be drawn up, for a Proclemation forthe Apprehending the ſaid Earl, with the uſual penalties upon ſuch as conceal him, and that he ſhould not be permitted to reſide with in any of his Majeſties places of *White-Hall*, *Somerſet Houſe*, and St. *James's*.

On *Saturday* the Bill for Regulating Elections was read the ſecond time, and Committed to a Committee, with liberty to divide the Bill as they ſee cauſe. 5 *of* April.

On *Monday* the 7*th* of *April* his Majesty by Mr. Secretary *Coventry*, acquainted the House of Commons, that Mr. *Reading* had acquainted him by a letter directed to one Mr. *Chiffinch*, that he had matters of great importance concerning the Prisoners in the Tower, and the present Plot; but that his Majesty would not meddle with any Prisoners Committed by this House, and that he would (if the House thought fit) not only permit him but lay his Commands on him frankly and freely to impart whatsoever he knew of that affair to the House of Commons, or the Committee of Secrecy appointed by them. Which so pleased the Commons, that they ordered the humble thanks of the House to be returned to his Majesty; So far was he from concealing any thing relating to the Plot, as he hath been basely and falsely calumniated.

This day the Commons sent up the Articles against the five Lords in the Tower, into the House of Lords.

The same day it was ordered that a Bill should be brought in for Annexing *Tangier* to the Imperial Crown of *England*, upon a report that it was to be sold to the *French*.

I should not have taken notice of this Vote, but that I shall have occasion to make further use of it hereafter.

The Ninth day of *April* the House further Voted, that those who did advise his Majesty to part with *Tangier* to any Foreign Prince or State, or were instrumental therein, ought to be Accounted Enemies to the King and Kingdom.

On *Tuesday* the eighth of *April*, the Bill relating to the Convocation was read, and referr'd to a Committee.

And then they fell to debate the Reasons against the Amendments of the Lords to the Bill against the

E. of *D.* which chiefly ſtood upon this point, that the Bill was by them changed from a Bill of Attainder to a Bill of Baniſhment, which the Commons could not conſent to. 1. Becauſe 'twas not the legal puniſhment of Treaſon. 2. That he might make uſe of the remiſſion as an Argument of their diſtruſt of their proofs againſt him. 3. That it would encourage others to withdraw themſelves as he had. See the Reaſons at large in the Printed *Journal.*

The *Habeas Corpus* Bill was read the third time, and paſſed, and ſent up to the Lords.

The ſame day was a conference betwixt the Lords and Commons about the E. of *D.* Bill, wherein the Lords prayed a Mitigation of the ſaid Bill. Which was referred by the Commons to be conſidered the next day.

When their deſire was denyed, and Reaſons ordered to be drawn up againſt it. *April* 9.

The next day there was two ſeveral Conferences about this Bill. But no report of either of them entered that day in the Journalls of the Houſe of Commons, but they are entered on *Saturday* the 12*th.* of *April.* And it appears that the Commons reſolved then to ſtand to the Bill without the Amendments.

In the Houſe of Lords on *Saturday* the 5*th* of *April*, the Lord Biſhop of *Ely* complained that one Mr. *Sidway* had put an information againſt himſelf and ſome others of the Lord Biſhops that was very derogatory to them; and thereupon the Houſe commanded the buſineſs to be brought before them, and ſtopt the proceedings of their Committee of Secrecy in that and all other things relating to any Member of their Houſe.

Where the buſineſs being heard on the *Monday* following, the ſaid *John Sidway* was Committed to the

the Prison of the *Gatehouse*, for bringing a frivolous and untrue accusation against the Lord Bishop of *Ely* and other Bishops, though several Lords dissented.

So the Bishops were quitted that time with Honour, as I wish they always may be, and that their enemies may meet with that shame and confusion they deserve, who through their sides strike at the Lords Anointed, and endeavour to ruine both the Church and State, by changing the Government from a Monarchy to a Common-wealth, as experience taught us once before, when the Crown soon followed the Miter, and the Temporal Lords the Bishops.

On *Wednesday* four of the five Lords in the Tower were brought to the House of Lords, and heard the Articles read against them, and had Copies of them, and were assigned their Counsel for matter of Law, but not for matter of Fact, and had time to answer till the 15*th* Instant. But the Lord *Bellasys* not being able to appear, by reason he was lame of the *Gout*, was excused, and had a Copy of the Articles sent him.

On *Monday* the 14*th* of *April*, at a conference, the Lords consented to pass the Bill against the Earl of *Danby* without any amendment.

Wednesday the 16*th* of *April*, A Bill for securing the King and Kingdom against the growh and Danger of Popery, was read the second time and commttied to a Committee.

The same day a Message was brought from the Lords, that the E. of *D.* had rendered himself and was sent to the Tower.

And by another Message word was sent, that the four Lords had Appeared, had sent in their Answers to the Articles upon which they had been proceeded against, which Answers they sent down to the Commons, being the Originalls, and the Lords desired the

return

return of them with all convenient ſpeed, that they might conſider of them.

And then the Commons Voted his Majeſty a ſupply for the Disbanding the reſt of the Forces not disbanded by the former Act. To be levied by a Land Tax in ſix Months. By which all Forces raiſed or brought over from Foreign parts ſince the 29*th* of *September*, 1677. were to be disbanded. The Commiſſion Officers being to be paid only to the firſt of this *April*.

The next day a debate ariſing, whether the Mony for Disbanding the Army ſhould be paid into the Exchequer? it was carried in the Affirmative by 60 Voices. Thurſday the 17 *of* April.

A Committee of Secrecy was appointed to prepare and draw up evidence againſt the E. of *Danby*, and alſo further Articles, as they ſhould ſee cauſe.

On *Friday* the 25*th* of *April*, a Bill for prevention of raiſing Mony upon the Subjects but by Act of Parliament was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond time.

A Bill for exporting Cloth to *Turkie* was read a firſt time, and ordered to be read again.

The ſame day the E. of *D.* and *John* Lord *Bellaſys* appeared at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and put in their ſeveral Anſwers, which were ſent down to the Commons, with deſire they might be returned with all convenient ſpeed.

On *Saturday* it was reſolved in the Houſe of Commons, that they would the *Friday* following take into conſideration how to make the law for prohibiting the importation of *French* Commodities more effectual. 26 *of* April.

William Viſcount *Stafford*, *Henry* Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and *William* Earl of *Powis*, Appeared this day at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, and retracted their former Plea's and put in their Anſwers, which were

were by a Meſſage ſent down to the Commons, which were read, and referred to the Committee of Secrecy belonging to the ſaid Houſe.

This day the Houſe of Commons reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

That this Houſe will ſit to morrow, to conſider of the beſt means to ſecure and preſerve the Kings perſon, and alſo the Proteſtant Religion, againſt the Attempts of the Papiſts, both in the Reign of his Majeſty and his Succeſſors.

And accordingly they did ſit, and began the day very inauſpiciouſly with reading an Addreſs to his Majeſty for the Execution of *Pickering*, who as they ſaid had been imployed by ſome of the Conſpirators, to execute their Execrable deſign of Murdering his Majeſty, and upon his Tryal was found guilty thereof; as alſo of divers Prieſts and Jeſuits, who ſtood then Condemned by his Majeſties Judges at the *Old-Bayley*; and in ſeveral of the Circuits. Upon which Offenders they humbly deſired *immediate Execution* might be done, to the terror of all ſuch wicked perſons, who by their daily Traiterous practiſes do juſtify the prudence of their Anceſtors in making ſuch Laws, and manifeſt the neceſſity of putting them in Execution. And though there is nothing to be ſaid for the men, yet I wiſh they had not made this ſevere motion on a Lord's day, it being none of thoſe works of *Charity* and *Mercy*, no nor *neceſſity* neither, which are commendable on that day, and this might as well have been done on any other day.

29. *Car. Cap.* 7.

Then they proceeded to the work appointed, and Voted in the firſt place, *That a Bill be brought in upon the debate of the Houſe, to Baniſh all* Papiſts *or* reputed Papiſts *from* London *and* Weſtminſter *and twenty Miles of the ſame for* Six Months, *and to confine all thoſe that live above twenty Miles from* London *within five Miles of their*

their own Habitations under penalties, and referred it to a Committee to draw up the ſame. And then,

Secondly, Reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente,*

That the Duke of York *being a* Papiſt, *and the hopes of his coming ſuch to the Crown, have given the greateſt countenance and encouragement to the preſent Conſpirators and deſigns of the* Papiſts, *againſt the King and the* Proteſtant *Religion.*

Reſolved, *That the concurrence of the Lords be deſired to this Vote.*

Ordered, *that the Committee of Secrecy draw up a Narative of all ſuch matters as concern the D. of* Y. *relating to the preſent Plot, contained in ſuch Papers as they have in their hands, and preſent the ſame to the Houſe on* Wedneſday *next.* And then they adjourned the debate till *Monday* following.

The next day being *Monday* the 28*th* of *March*, the Houſe attended his Majeſty with the ſaid Addreſs, for the Executing *Pickering*, &c. To which his Majeſty reply'd.

Gentlemen,

'I Have always been tender in matters of blood, 'which my Subjects have no reaſon to take exception at, but this is a matter of great weight, I ſhall 'therefore conſider of it and return you an anſwer.

So little was this mercifull Prince exaſperated by all the practiſes againſt him.

On *Wedneſday* the 30*th* of *April*, his Majeſty ſent for the Commons up to the Lords Houſe, and made this Speech to the two Houſes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'THe Season of the Year advancing so fast, I 'thought it necessary to put you in mind of 'three particulars:

'1. Prosecuting the Plot,

'2. Disbanding the Army,

'3. Providing a Fleet for our common security.

'And to shew you, that whilst you are doing your 'parts, my thoughts have not been misimployed; but 'that it is my constant care to do every thing that may 'preserve your Religion, and secure it for the future in 'all events.

'I have commanded my Lord Chancellor to menti-'on several particulars, which I hope will be an 'evidence that in all things that concern the Publick 'security, I shall not follow your zeal but lead it.

The Lord Chancellor spoke thus,

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons.

'THat Royal care which his Majesty hath taken 'for the general quiet, and satisfaction of all 'his Subjects, is now more evident by these new and 'fresh instances of it, which I have in command to 'open to you.

'His Majesty hath considered with himself, that it is 'not enough that your Religion and Liberty is secure 'during his own Reign, but he thinks he owes it to 'his people to do all that in him lies, that these 'blessings may be transmitted to your posterity, and 'so well secured to them, that no succession in after 'Ages may be able to work the lest alteration.

'And

'And therefore his Majeſty, who hath often ſaid in 'this place that he is ready to conſent to any Laws 'of this kind, ſo that the ſame extend not to alter the 'deſcent of the Crown in the Right Line, nor to defeat 'the Succeſſion, hath now commanded this to be 'further explained.

'And to the end it may never be in the power of 'any *Papiſt*, if the Crown deſcend upon him, to make 'any change either in Church or State, I am com-'manded to tell you, that his Majeſty is willing that 'proviſion may be made, firſt to diſtinguiſh a Papiſt 'from a Proteſtant Succeſſor; then to limit and cir-'cumſcribe the Authority of a Popiſh Succeſſor in theſe 'caſes following, that he may be diſabled to do any 'harm; firſt in reference to the Church, his Majeſtie; 'is content that care may be taken, that all Eccleſiaſti-'cal and ſpiritual Benefices and promotions in the 'Gift of the Crown, may be conferred in ſuch a 'manner, that we may be ſure the Incumbents ſhall 'always be of the moſt Pious and learned Proteſtants: 'And that no Popiſh Succeſſor (while he continues ſo) 'may have any power to controul ſuch preferments.

'In reference to the State and civil part of the 'Government, as it is already provided that no Papiſt 'can ſit in either Houſe of Parliament, ſo the King 'is pleaſed, that it be provided too, that there may 'never want a Parliament when the King ſhall happen 'to dy: But that the Parliament then in being, may 'continue indiſſolvable for a compleat time, or if there 'be no Parliament then in being, then that the laſt 'Parliament, which was in being before that time, may 'reaſſemble, and ſit a competent time, without any 'new Summons or Elections.

'And as no Papiſt can by Law hold any place of truſt, 'ſo the King is content, that it may be further provi-'ded, that no Lords or other of the Privy Council, no 'Judges of the common Law, nor in Chancery, ſhall 'at any time during the Reign of any Popiſh Succeſſor, 'be put in, or diſplaced, but by the Authority of 'Parliament.

'And that care alſo be taken that none but ſincere 'Proteſtants may be Juſtices of the Peace.

'In reference to the Military part, the King is willing 'that no Lord Lieutenant, or Deputy Lieutenant, nor 'no Officer in the Navy (during the Reign of any 'Popiſh Succeſſor) be put out or removed but either 'by Authority of Parliament, or of ſuch perſons as 'the Parliament ſhall intruſt with ſuch Authority.

'Tis hard to invent another reſtraint to be put upon 'a Popiſh Succeſſor, conſidering how much the 'Revenue of the Succeſſor will depend upon conſent 'of Parliament, and how impoſſible it is to raiſe 'mony without ſuch conſent. But yet if any thing 'elſe can occur to the Wiſdom of the Parliament, 'which may further ſecure Religion and liberty againſt 'a Popiſh Succeſſor, without defeating the Right of 'Succeſſion it ſelf, his Majeſty will moſt readily conſent 'to it.

'Thus watchful is the King for all your ſafety, 'and if he could think of any thing elſe that you 'do either want or wiſh, to make you happy, 'he would make it his buſineſs to effect it for you,

'God Almighty long continue this bleſſed Union 'between the King and his Parliament and people.

The Houſe of Commons returning, reſolved to Adjourn the *conſideration* of his Majeſties Speech till the next *Monday* Morning.

And

And now let any man but ſeriouſly conſider the Condeſcention of theſe propoſals, and that they were franlly and freely offered, before the Houſe of Commons had obliged themſelves in point of Honour, to ſtand to any Vote of *Excluſion*, (for that was not then made) and he muſt then be amazed to ſee to what extremities matters have proceeded, during *that*, and the *two laſt* Parliaments.

But who can brook the impudence of thoſe men, who have notwithſtanding this, by Tales and Pamphlets endeavoured to repreſent his ſacred Majeſty to his people as a favourer of Papiſts and Popery.

Some men may poſſibly ſay, that all this will not infallibly ſecure us againſt Popery, and I ſay nothing can make any thing in this lower world ſteady and unalterable, but it is more likely to do it than the *excluſion Bill*, becauſe it diſarms a Popiſh Succeſſor of the temptation and opportunity of enſlaving us by force, where as the other puts the Sword into his hand, and compells him to try his fortune for the whole, the event of which is much more uncertain than ſome pretend, who truſting now to force and number, will in likelyhood find themſelves diſappointed by men, and puniſhed by God for their diſtruſt of his providence; and reliance on the Arm of Fleſh, if not ruined by their over great confidence in the number of their party, which often have deceived men in ſuch occaſions. But this it not the place of theſe conſiderations, but that they broke looſe here againſt my will.

On *Thurſday* the Commons gave leave to bring in a Bill, that when any Member of their Houſe is preferred to any Office or place of profit, a new Writ ſhould immediately iſſue out, for Electing of a Member to ſerve in his ſtead: This was to keep the party together, 1. *of* May.

Seasonable Addres's to both Houses, p. 10.

gether, and to prevent the Ministers from bying off any of them by preferment, and it is to be wished it had passed, for that would have lessened their Numbers, and have taken off all those that hoped to rise by opposition to the *Court*, as they call it, but indeed to the *King* and the *Morarchy*: In the interim it may be a caution to the Country, that they take not all these Gentlemen to be what they pretend to be, for that apparently some of them were driving a Market for Preferments, how much soever they had clamoured their predecessors on that account.

This day also Dr. *John Nalson*, who had been a long time Imprisoned and put to vast charge for Writing the *Letter of Advice from a Jesuite in* Paris *to his correspondent in* London, was discharged without assigning any reason or Law for this way of proceeding against him, which was never yet used against any of the Writers of the most virulent Libells, against the Government, and Religion by Law established, and they Voted also, *that an Address should be made to his Majesty, by such Members of their House as were of his Majesties Privy Counsel, to desire his Majesty to Command the Lord Chancellor to put him out of the Commission of the Peace.* Because it seems his Imprisonment was not punishment enough for so great an offence as this: And the Writing several other books to revive the memory of 1641. as one of the Members expressed it, in the following Parliament; when it seems they meant to have another fling at him; for though his Majesty can pardon and forgive, there are that cannot. But I believe they have got no great matter by this: Nor was the Doctor turn'd out of the Commission for all their Address, his Majesty knowing this would not suit his Interest.

Exact Coll. of the most considerable debates &c. P. 337.

On

On *Saturday* the Lords sent down a Bill, entituled, *An Act for freeing the City of* London *and parts adjacent, from Popish Inhabitants, and providing against other dangers which may arise from Papists.* *May* 3.

And in the Afternoon, an Account that the Earl of *Danby* would insist upon his Pardon; and that he desired his Council might be heard to the Validity of it. *May* 5.

On *Monday* His Majesty sent this message to the Commons by the Lord *Russell*. 'His Majesty hath commanded me to let the House know, that his Majesty is 'willing to comply with the request made to him by 'the House, concerning *Pickering*; and that the Law shall 'pass upon him accordingly; and as to the Condemned Priests, the House of Peers have sent for them 'in order (as his Majesty conceives) to some Examinations; and further to acquaint you, that he repeateth 'his instances to you, to think of putting the Fleet in 'such a posture as may quiet mens fears, and at least 'secure us from any sudden attempt, which his 'Majesty doubts not, but you will do: And though 'the streights and difficulties he lyeth under, are very 'great, he doth not intend during this Sessions to 'press for any other Supply; being willing rather to 'suffer the Burdens that are upon him, some time 'longer, than to interrupt you, whilst you are imployed about the discovery of the Plot, the Tryal 'of the Lords, and the Bill for securing our Religion.

The same day the Commons went up to the Bar of the Lords house to demand Judgment against the Earl of *Danby* upon the Illegality of his pardon. *May the* 6.

On *Tuesday*, *John Wilson* and *Roger Bockwith* Esquires, two Justices of the Peace of the County of *York*, were sent for in Custody, for saying, *that this Parliament was*

no

no Parliament, and they would justify it. Of which more hereafter, *May* 22.

A Message was sent to the Lords by the Commons, that the House was ready to make good the Impeachments against the five Popish Lords in the Tower, and the Committee of Secrecy belonging to the Commons was appointed to manage the evidence against them at their Tryals.

The 7. of May *Wednesday*, the Lords sent down a Message, that they had appointed *Saturday* to hear the Earl of *Danby's* Plea, for the Validity of his Pardon, that they had Addressed to the King for the naming a Lord High Steward at his Tryal, and that of the Popish Lords, which was appointed by their Lordships to be that day seven-night.

The 8. of May. On *Thursday*, the Commons agreed an Address to his Majesty against *John* Duke of *Lauderdale*, upon general pretences of fears and jealousies, desiring he might be removed from his Majesties Counsels in *England* and *Scotland*, putting his Majesty in mind of the Address of the last Parliament to that purpose, and resolved, they would attend his Majesty in a body.

The Commons desired a Conference with the Lords, to state before hand the manner of proceedings in the Tryal of the Earl of *Danby*, and of the five Popish Lords, and took exceptions to their motion for a Lord High Steward.

On *Friday* his Majesty sent for the Commons, and passed the Bill for Disbanding the Army, and such other Bills as were ready, which was wisely done; for by this surprize other debates were prevented, which might have prov'd of dangerous consequence. After this, they appointed a Committee to inspect the Journalls, and search Presidents touching the carrying up of Bills, and what previous intimation ought to be given

given to them of his Majeſties intention to paſs Bills; and from and by whom ſuch notice hath uſually been given, and whether the Houſe may debate after the meſſage delivered by the Black Rod, for attendance of the Houſe upon his Majeſty. It would have been very unhappy if by reaſon of theſe Debates, the Forces then on foot ſhould have continued undisbanded. By all which as much as is poſſible to conjecture, it would have been very unhappy if by reaſon of theſe Debates, the Forces then on foot ſhould have continued undisbanded to the great damage of the King and Kingdom (notwithſtanding the common clamour againſt them) if his Majeſty had not thus prevented it.

The ſame day the Commons paſſed this Vote, *that no Commoner whatſoever, ſhould preſume to maintain the Validity of the pardon, pleaded by the E. of* Danby, *without the leave of their houſe firſt had*, and *that the perſons ſo doing ſhould be accounted betrayers of the Liberties of the Commons of* England: and Ordered this Vote to be poſted up at *Weſtminſter-hall* Gate, *Serjeants-Innes*, and *Innes of Court*.

His Lordſhips Friends called this a depriving him of all counſel to defend himſelf, but what was appointed by his Enemies and Accuſers, in a matter of Law; inſiſting upon the Rules of proceedings in all other Courts, and the ordinary methods of Common and Natural equity and right; it ſeeming hard to ruine a man, if not ſome diffidence of the caſe, to deny him thoſe Priviledges the meaneſt and worſt of Rogues have; which is to chooſe ſuch Councel as the Court before whom they are to be tryed will allow, the Kings Councel excepted.

And when the humour was ſtirr'd, they voted, *that the Anſwer delivered by the Lords that day at the Laſt Conference* (about the manner of trying the

Peers, whereby their Lordſhips had not conſented to a Committee of the Houſes, becauſe they did not think it Conformable to the Rules and Orders of their Court, of which (they ſaid) they had reaſon to be tender in matters relating to their Judicature) *tended to the Interruption of the good correſpondency between the two Houſes.*

May 10.

The firſt thing the Commons did on *Saturday* morning, was the Reading of an Addreſs to the King for the raiſing of the Militia of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, the *Tower Hamlets*, and Counties of *Middleſex* and *Surrey*, for the ſecurity of his Majeſties Perſon at the Tryal of the *Popiſh Lords*, by reaſon of the Great Reſort of the *Jeſuits*, *Popiſh Prieſts* and other *Popiſh Recuſants* at that time in contempt of his Majeſties Laws and Royal Proclamation; to which they deſired the Concurrence of the Lords, to which they unanimouſly agreed.

The E. of *Danby* ſending a Petition to the Lords, *that his Counſel durſt not appear to defend his caſe by reaſon of the Vote of the Commons*; the Lords at a Conference deſired to know if there were any ſuch Vote, to which the Commons would not anſwer.

Sir *Robert Howard* acquainting them, there had been paid from our *Lady-day* 1676, to the 20*th.* of *March* 1679, the Sum of 252467 *lb.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* for Secret Services: They ordered that Mr. *Charles Bertie ſhould be taken into Cuſtody of the Sergeant at Armes attending their Houſe.*

And in the Next place they ordered, *that all the Members that were of the Long Robe of their houſe ſhould prepare themſelves with Reaſons againſt the pardon pleaded by the E. of* Danby. Which was very neceſſary now that no body durſt defend it.

So the Lords Ordered the E. to be returned to the Tower in ſafety.

On

On *Sunday* the Lords agreed to the demand of the Commons for the appointing a Committee of both Houſes to ſtate the Preliminaries of the tryals to be had, to meet the next day. May 11.

And then the Commons proceeded to Vote; *that a Bill be brought in to diſable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm*, and appointed a Committee to draw the ſame.

Which was in purſuance of their former Vote, on *Sunday* the 27*th* of *April*. Though the Lords who had been twiſe deſired to concur in that vote, had given no anſwer to it. Out of an apprehenſion perhaps that his Majeſties Life might be indangered upon this Vote, they reſolved, *Nemine Contradicente*,

That in defence of the Kings perſon and the Proteſtant Religion, this houſe doth declare, that they will ſtand by his Majeſty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majeſty ſhould come by any violent death (which God forbid) that they will revenge it to the utmoſt upon the Papiſts.

As if it had been impoſſible his Majeſty ſhould be murthered by any other then a Papiſt; or that it had been any conſolation to his Majeſty to have known that his death ſhould have been revenged to the utmoſt on them who ever had been the cauſe or procurers of it.

This prov'd the occaſion of breaking all the following Parliaments to this day, and thereby to ſecure the Popiſh Lords in the Tower from Tryal, and to prevent all the excellent Laws that were then under conſideration againſt Popery, from ever being brought to paſs. And finally, it prov'd an obſtacle of union between the King and the Houſes, to the great advantage of our Enemies at home and abroad; to the great hazard of the Nation: and more

especially of the Protestant Religion which was pretended to be secured by it.

I shall say more of this Vote and the former hereafter, when the effects of them will appear better then they did at first.

May 14. On *Wednesday* his Majesty sent another Message to the Commons to put them again in mind of the Fleet, and let them know he would acquit himself of the evil consequences, which the want of a Fleet in such a juncture might produce; and that the entering upon it, could be no hinderance to the other great affairs on their hands, but rather a Security in the dispatch thereof.

Upon which, a debate arising, they adjourn'd the Consideration of this Message till *Monday* Sennight after: which had the appearance of a denial.

15. On *Thursday* there arose a Controversy betwixt the two Houses about the Bishops; for the Lords having Voted *that the Lords Spiritual have a right to stay, and sit in Court till the Court proceed to the Vote of Guilty or not guilty.* The Commons opposed it, and said, *that the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any proceedings upon impeachments against the Lords in the Tower*; involving the E. of *Danby*'s case, with the other Lords, though it was vastly different. And indeed from hence arose this contest, the Commons imagining that the Bishops would be for the validity of his pardon, and so make a major Vote in that House; and therefore as they had deprived him of his Counsel before, so now the business was to out the most favourable part (as they thought) of his Judges.

The same day the Bill *to disinherit the D. of York*, was read the first time, and Ordered a second reading.

On

On *Saturday* a Vote of the Houſe of Lords was read in the Houſe of Commons. May 17.

16 May, 1679.

Reſolved by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled that *Thurſday* next be appointed to begin the Tryals of the five Lords in the Tower, *(viz.)* the E. of *Powis*, *&c.*

After which reſolution, the Lords Spiritual asked the leave of that houſe, *that they might withdraw themſelves from the Tryals of the ſaid Lords, with the Liberty of entring their uſual Proteſtations.*

Upon which the Commons Reſolved.

That it be given as an inſtruction to their Committee to inſiſt upon the former Vote of this Houſe, *That the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any vote in any Proceedings againſt the Lords in the Tower*: and when that matter ſhall be ſetled *(as they pleaſe, for the Lords had ſetled it)* and the method of proceedings adjuſted, this Houſe ſhall then be ready to proceed upon the Tryal of the E. of *Danby*; againſt whom the Houſe hath already demanded judgment: and afterwards to the Tryal of the other five Lords in the Tower.

So here was the two Houſes in their Votes point blank againſt one another.

I ſhall here take notice of ſome Arguments that paſſed betwixt the Lords and the Commons as they are expreſſed in the Lords Journal.

On *Tueſday* the 13*th* of *May*, The Commons deſired to know concerning the Biſhops being preſent at the Tryals of the Lords impeached, to which the Lords made this Anſwer.

That it belonged not to the Commons to be concerned in the Conſtituting parts of the Court, upon ſuch Tryals; but that the judgment of this matter belongs entirely to the Lords, and when they have

adjudged

adjudged it, the Commons cannot alter it, and therefore ſhould not debate it. Upon which the Commons acknowledged, that Judgment after Tryal is in the Lords, but their Lordſhips are not to give judgment, unleſs the Commons demand it, and that the Commons deſire to know whether the Lords will proceed in theſe Tryals, as their Lordſhips did anciently; for if the Biſhops ſhould ſit upon theſe Tryals, they ſhould not demand Judgment, but being diſſatisfied with their being there, and it may be the Commons may proceed by Bill. To which the Lords made Anſwer, that after the Evidence is fully heard, they are bound to give judgment of Condemnation or Acquittal; but this being a matter of Judicature, the Lords declared, that they would impoſe ſilence upon themſelves, and debate it no further. The Commons further deſired to know whether the Biſhops ſhould be allowed to vote upon the Validity of the pardon of the E. of *Danby*, which they account no Preliminary but the very eſſence of the Tryal.

On *Thurſday* the Votes I have mentioned before being communicated by the Lords to the Commons, the Commons anſwered, *That if the pardon of the E. of Danby infer Life and Death, it is the ſame with Guilty or not Guilty, and deſired again to know whether the Lords Spiritual ſhould Vote upon the E. of D. Pardon*, in anſwer to which, the Lords ſaid *they had no Inſtructions in that point, but would acquaint the Houſe with it.*

On *Friday* the Commons inſiſted, *that the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in any of the proceedings upon the impeachments againſt the Lords in the Tower*, and the Commons declared *that they knew not how to proceed in Capital matters, before a new Court*, to which the Lords would not reply.

So

So the Lords voted, *that Thurſday next ſhould be appointed to begin the Tryals of the five Popiſh Lords.*

After which the Lords Spiritual deſired leave of the Houſe *that they might withdraw themſelves from the Tryals of the ſaid Lords, with the liberty of entering their uſual Proteſtations*; as I have formerly ſaid.

And it was Ordered that the Reſolution of the Lords Houſe and the deſire of the Lords Spiritual ſhould be communicated to the Committee of the Houſe of Commons the next Morning.

This being ſo done, the Commons inſiſted, *that their Vote extended to the E. of Danby as well as the five Lords, whereas the Lords Vote relate only to the five Lords, and therefore they deſired to know what anſwer the Lords would give as to the E. of* Danby, *they further objected, that they conceived, that their vote was as to the Right of the thing, and that the Biſhops have no right to be at any Vote in any capital caſes.*

And they conceived the E. of Ds. to be a Capital caſe, as well as the caſes of the other five Lords, and that if the Biſhops may have leave to withdraw, it implies a right, which if they have, it is a new Court which the Commons cannot admit of.

The Lords reply'd *there is no day yet appointed for the tryal of the E. of D. and that the Lords Spiritual will be abſent at all the parts of the Tryals of the five Lords, and that the Proteſtations they now deſire to enter, will be the ſame as in the Earl of* Strafford's *caſe.*

Then the Commons ſaid *they could not proceed to treat of any other Propoſals, till ſuch time as the buſineſs about the Court be ſetled.*

On *Munday* the 19*th of May* the Commons further inſiſted *that the Lords Spiritual ought not to have any Vote in the proceeding againſt the Lords in the Tower, and when that matter ſhall be ſetled, and the Method of proceedings*

ceedings adjusted their House would be then ready to proceed upon the Tryal of the Pardon of the E. of Danby, *against whom the Commons had already demanded judgment, and afterwards to the tryal of the five Lords in the Tower.*

Upon which the Lords told them *they had no Authority to debate this Matter.*

Note that the tryal of the E. of D. was render'd impossible, by Voting no Commoner of *England* should be of Counsel with him, or defend the validity of his pardon. 2*ly*, That all this contest about the Bishops was only in relation to the Earl's case. 3*ly*, That they insinuate they would proceed by Bill, all which were Declarations they meant to force the Lords as much as in them lay to condemn the E. one way or another, as the Long Parliament forced his Majesties Father, and the House of Lords against their declared judgments, to condemn the E. of *Strafford.* But to go on.

" The Commons then further said that the Lords " resolution which was offered, was no answer to " their proposition; which comprehended the E. of " *D.* as well as the five Lords: besides the Lords an- " swer was doubtful, for it appears that the Bishops " asked leave to be absent, but it appeared not that " it was granted, then consequently the Bishops must " sit in Court at the Tryals; that the Commons con- " ceived that the Bishops absenting themselves by way " of Leave, is a strong implication of a right assert- " ed, which they cannot allow, can ever be maintained (*yet this they were told, let it imply what it will*) was allowed them in the case of the E. of *Strafford* in Parliament by a house of Commons that were no great Friends to Bishops, and why could not the Commons now be contented with what was practised then

then and at all other times: and (the Commons) did think (they ſaid) there was the ſame reaſon for the Biſhops being abſent from the Tryal, upon the pardon, as from the tryal of the other five Lords, and that the naming of a day for the tryal of the five Lords, before the tryal of the pardon of the E. of *Danby*, againſt whom the Commons had already demanded Judgment, as the putting that laſt which they deſired ſhould be firſt.

To which the Lords told them, *they were not impowered to debate, but would impart theſe Matters to the Houſe.*

The Commons hereupon replied, *they were ready to go on, and that for want of theſe trials all publick buſineſs ſtood ſtill*, but the Lords ſeem'd to lay the ſtop at the Commons door, by naming a day, which they conceived ought not to have been appointed, before the Methods were conſidered, for the Lords had not anſwered the Commons in matter of Right, (*which never was, nor it may be will be anſwered*) which was neceſſary firſt to be adjuſted, and they deſired their reſolution as to that matter; for they conceived they (the Biſhops) had no right (*which whether they had or no, there was no more neceſſity of determining it then, then heretofore*) and the Lords might as well make the Judges part of their Court, as the Biſhops in this point; As they ſaid.

And they ſaid, *the Commons would give no diſturbance to the Ancient judicature, for they own'd that to be ſacred, and they conceived they had a right to know before what Court they ſhall appear, and they hoped the Lords would conſider of their having appointed a day, before the Methods were conſidered, and would give them leave to wonder at it.*

It is as likely the Lords took leave all this time to

wonder at the Commons too; and it is likely posterity will wonder that all this Controverſy ſhould be banded thus, when it was thought to have been full time at leaſt, to have been trying the five Lords, and diſpatching the Bills againſt Popery.

On *Tueſday* the 25*th* of *May* the Lords having again conſidered of all this, in a Committee of the whole Houſe; gave further day for the Tryal of the five Lords till that day ſennight.

The ſame day, the Commons read the Bill *for freeing the City of* London, *and parts adjacent, from Popiſh Inhabitants*, with the Amendments the third time; and having added two clauſes, return'd it to the Lords from whom it came.

The Bill *for diſabling the D. of* York *to inherit the imperial Crown of this Realm*, being read the ſecond time, and the queſtion put whether it ſhould be committed, the Houſe divided, and there were for the

Yeas—207.
Noes—128.

And ſo it was reſolved in the affirmative. And the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole Houſe, which was to ſit the *Friday* following.

On *Thurſday* the 22*th* of *May*, *John Wilſon* and *Roger Beckwith* Eſquires, the two *Yorkſhire* Juſtices of the peace, who were ſent for into cuſtody, for ſaying this was no Parliament; exhibited in the Houſe a Petition under the Hands of Eight Juſtices of the peace of the North Riding of the County of *York*: certifying that they were all preſent at the Seſſions at *Thirske* the firſt of *May* 1679, when *John Wilſon* Eſq; being deſired to give his opinion whether the Act for Settlement of the poor of the 14 of *Car.* 2, which was to continue to the end of the firſt Seſſion of the

next Parliament was ſtill in force; to which he anſwered, it was doubtful, in regard they had not yet made any Act, and is not a Parliament in Law, becauſe no Record remains of it; to which it ſeems the other aſſented, and all the ſaid Juſtices certify that neither of them did then ſpeak any words derogatory to the Parliament.

Now this doubt did ariſe by reaſon of the prorogation in the beginning of this Parliament before the Speaker was choſen; which ſeemed to make a Seſſion.

Hereupon the Commons Ordered that they ſhould be diſcharged, paying their fees.

But who ſhould make theſe Gentlemen any Recompence for the trouble, charge, and injury they had ſuſtained by this impriſonment, was a matter they were not then at leiſure to conſider. But in the interval of a Parliament, it may be worth their while to look into the authorities that enabled them to impriſon their fellow Subjects upon a bare, and it may be falſe and malicious Suggeſtion, who are no members of their houſe. But if they ſhall not be pleas'd to conſider of it themſelves, the reſt of the Gentry will, and take other Meaſures perhaps for the future; in regard that no man is ſecure of his Liberty in time of Parliament at this boundleſs rate of Priviledge.

On *Friday* 23 of *May* 1679, the Houſe being informed that Sir *Stephen Fox* had paid ſeveral Sums of Money to ſome of the Members of the laſt Parliament, and that he had books of Accounts to evidence the ſame: firſt they ordered,

That he ſhould be immediately ſent for to attend the Houſe, and to bring with him all the Books and Papers of Accounts of any moneys he has paid to any Members

of the laſt Parliament. And preſently again

Ordered,

That Sir S.F. do forthwith produce to this Houſe his Leiger Book, Caſh Book and Journal; and his Receipts for money by him paid for ſecret Services, and that he be injoyned not to go out of the Company of the Members (they ſent with him) before they return to the Houſe.

Ordered again,

That no Members depart the Service of the Houſe until Sir S. F. and the other Members return.

Ordered again,

That Sir F. Winnington do to morrow morning make a report of the informations given to the Committee of Secreſy, touching Money paid for Secret Services to the members of the laſt Parliament.

Ordered again,

That Sir S. Fox do upon his Memory, name to the Houſe ſuch Members of the laſt Parliament, as he paid any money to for Secret Service.

There is no Entry of the Perſons by them named, but many Liſts of them in writing were preſently ſpread about the Nation, ſome of which had more Names, and others fewer, according to the affection of the Tranſcribers, and ſo the Honour of many an honeſt Gentleman, was under-hand blaſted; with the people eſpecially, there being no way left to rectify this falſehood, but by repairing to Sir *Stephen Fox* for a Certificate, and that would not have been believed neither by their Enemies, whilſt their friends did not need it.

As I recommended one conſideration before to our Parliament men, relating to our Liberties, ſo they may be pleaſed to take another along with them for our honours, for it ſeems if a man be impriſoned or accuſed by the Order of the Commons in Parliament,

ment, though never ſo wrongfully, he ſhall hardly obtain any relief; and therefore great care ought to be taken not to precipitate matters of this Conſequence. Now Sir *Stephen Fox* might poſſibly have given a better account next morning in Writing, then thus haſtily upon his memory; and there the Gentlemen accuſed, might have been heard what they could ſay for themſelves, before they had been defamed to the whole Nation, and after that an exact account might have been given in Print, without leaving it to the Liberty of every man to add and diminiſh as he pleaſed. Such inconveniences as theſe, will ever follow haſty Counſels, which therefore ought to be avoided; if they be not, the injury will at one time or another be repay'd with Intereſt.

To conclude this matter, as there was never any Law to prohibit Parliament-men from taking the liberality of our Princes in time of Parliament, ſo there was the greater reaſon for it in this Parliament, which laſted too long, to the Ruine of many Gentlemen of ſmall eſtate, who were Members of it; the cuſtom of taking Wages being then wholly laid aſide; and as this tended to make them odious to the People, ſo it reflected upon his Majeſty: and therefore ought to have been purſued with great Tenderneſs, and care alſo ought to have been taken for the time to come, by allowing better Wages, and making it duely paid; without which, this thing will never be prevented.

All which is ſaid not to accuſe Sir *Stephen Fox* or the Gentlemen that were accuſed by him, but to ſhow what injuries may and will happen, as often as that great Body acts with too much warmth, and how difficult it is to redreſs what might eaſily enough have been prevented, which I deſire may end in the honour of Parliaments,

liaments, by making them Act with all possible reservedness and caution for the future.

On *Saturday*, *May* the 24*th*, the Commons ordered an Answer to be return'd to the last Message of the house of Peers, touching the Appointment of *Tuesday* the 27*th* of *May*, for the Tryal of the five Lords in the Tower, with reasons why they could not proceed to the Tryal of those five Lords, before judgment given upon the E. of *D's.* plea of his Pardon, and the point of the Bishops not Voting in any proceedings, upon impeachments for Capital offences were setled, and the methods of Proceedings adjusted, and that a Committee should be appointed to draw up these reasons.

A Petition being exhibited the same day to the Commons by Sir *Thomas Hare*, *John Trinham* Esq; and others on the behalf of themselves, and the major part of the Freeholders of the County of *Norfolk*. Complaining of several rude and illegal practises, in Electing and Returning Sir *John Hobart* to serve in that Parliament, as Knight of the Shire for the said County of *Norfolk*; and the Petitioners having in their Petition set forth, that by reason of Printing and Publishing of the Resolves and Orders of the House, the Free-holders of the said County, were affrighted and terrified.

And a Motion being made that the said Petition might be rejected, the same was upon the question rejected.

Sir *Francis Winnington* reported from the Committee of Secrecy, several Informations *of Moneys paid for Secret Service to the Members of the last Parliament.*

Whereupon they Ordered, *that one Mr.* Knight, *and Sir* Richard Wiseman, *should be immediately sent for to attend the House. And that the Speaker should Issue out his*

his Warrant, for the ſummoning of ſuch Witneſſes as ſhould be Named to him, by any Member of their Houſe, touching Moneys paid for Secret Service.

And then Adjourned the Debate of that affair till Tueſday Morning following; when his Majeſty put an end to this and all their other proceedings.

On *Munday* the 26*th* of *May*, the Commons drew up reaſons why they could not proceed to the Tryal of the five impeach'd Popiſh Lords, till they had their demands in relation to the E. of *Danby*, and the Biſhops; which are too long to be here inſerted, not without ſome ſeeming reflexions upon the Proceedings of the Honſe of Peers.

But I need not interpoſe betwixt them, the Lords are better able to Juſtify and Vindicate their Cauſe againſt the Commons then I am; and it is fit I ſhould leave it to them.

Yet I cannot but take notice, they never gave any reaſon for their Vote of the 9*th* of *May*; *That no Commoner whatſoever ſhould preſume to maintain the Validity of the Pardon pleaded by the E. of* D. *without the leave of their Houſe firſt had and obtained, and that the Perſons ſo doing, ſhould be accounted betrayers of the Liberties of* England. By which Vote it became impoſſible for the Lords to do the E. Juſtice; for his Plea being matter of Law and not of Fact, by the Law of the Land, he ought to have Counſel aſſigned him by the Lords, without the Interpoſition of the Commons, the Lords being his Judges, and the Commons his Accuſers, and by conſequence his Enemies. And it ſeems contrary to the Rules of Natural and Eternal Equity, that a man ſhould have no means to defend his life, but what his Accuſers will allow him: and I believe they themſelves would never have ſubmitted to this. Now Counſel he could have none if they were not

Com-

Commoners (as they that made that Vote will I suppose allow,) all the Peers being his Judges, and so forecloſed from being of Counſel for him. And without Counſel, the Lords neither could nor ought to proceed againſt him, therefore the Commons had made it legally impoſſible to try the E. till that Vote were recall'd, and this I take to be the true reaſon why their Lordſhips Ordered the Tryals of the five Lords before his, which they did after this Vote, for before that time they were willing to have tryed him firſt, as appears by their Journal.

2*ly*. The Commons give no reaſon why the Biſhops ſhould not be allowed to withdraw upon leave, as they anciently uſed to do; for they do not deny, that anciently they uſe to withdraw upon Leave, though the Lords urged that, nor produce one inſtance, where they were excluded, but upon Leave, and with proteſtations entered. And therefore there ſeemed to be much Reaſon why the Lords ſhould ſtick to their own Vote, and refuſe to gratify the Commons in this point, to the dammage of the Biſhops.

3*ly*. The Commons proceeded a little myſteriouſly with the Lords, under a general term of the Lords in the Tower; including the E. of *D*. by that term, tho his Caſe was vaſtly different, both in matter of Fact, and the manner of the Tryal. For the Lords yielded at the firſt, that the Biſhops ought to withdraw from the Tryal of the five Popiſh Lords, and therefore that point ought to have been no further inſiſted on; yet ſtill the Commons urged *that the Biſhops ought not to be preſent at the Tryal of the Lords in the Tower*, including the E. of *D*. in thoſe general Terms, as before; which ſeemed liker a diſpute at the Bar, then a Treaty betwixt two Committees of the Houſes for an Accommodation.

Now

Now that the E. of *Danby*'s caſe was vaſtly different from that of the five Lords appears from hence. 1. There is nothing charged upon the E. that is treaſon within the Statute of the 25*th* of *Ed.* 3. c. 2. nor any other Statute that was ever alledged, and ſo it muſt have been debated upon the Tryal whether the Crimes were Treaſon or no, ſuppoſing the matter of Fact had been proved or granted; and of this the Biſhops are Judges, as well as the Temporal Lords, and have ever had their Vote in all thoſe Statutes that have made or declared what was, and what was not Treaſon, and particularly in the Statute above cited, which is the great and ſtanding rule, and ſo ought not to be excluded here, but in the caſe of the five Lords it was otherwiſe, for their Treaſons were apparently within the ſaid Statute, if prov'd true. 2*ly*, The E's. plea was a meer Law point, *viz.* whether the Pardon was Valid or not, and the Biſhops are Judges with the Lords Temporal in all points of Law brought before that Houſe. 3*ly*. Though the Commons inſiſted that the Event was the ſame as upon *Guilty or not Guilty*. Yet this may be queſtioned, for it ſeems juſt, that if the Pardon had been over-ruled, the E. ſhould have ſtill been in the ſame caſe, as if it had not been granted, and ſo have been tryed again upon the impeachment, and then might have demurr'd to the point in Law, whether the Crimes charged were Treaſon or no, before he had been condemned, and in this point perhaps, the Biſhops had been Judges; and when both theſe points had been heard and over-ruled, then that the matter of fact ſhould have been tryed upon the Plea of *Guilty or not Guilty*, and then the Biſhops ſhould have been abſent. And perhaps the Commons will find that the Earls reſolution of abiding by his pardon will amount to no more

then this, when ever he be tryed, at leaſt it ſeems reaſonable it ſhould not. For there is no reaſon a man ſhould be hanged, becauſe the Attorney General miſtook in drawing his Pardon, or he in the manner of ſuing it out, without a Tryal. If it be ſaid that *Conſenſus tollit Errorem*, I anſwer, No man can conſent to his own deſtruction, ſo as to foreclose him of all lawful means of ſaving his Life. If it be objected that this is too tedious a way of proceeding, I anſwer in the words of the Heathen, *de morte hominis nulla eſt cunctatio Longa*; it being eaſy to cut off a mans Head, and impoſſible to reſtore him to life, good conſideration ought to be taken before it be done.

It may be ſome will be ready to ſay *a Fools bolt is ſoon ſhot*, and though this is true, yet, I know no reaſon why I may not ſpeak my judgment as well as others: and if I be adjudged an enemy of the Commons of *England* for my pains, I cannot help it, only I have not medled with the Validity of the pardon in all this, nor I think never will, and ſo I have not offended againſt that Vote.

The Concluſion I ſhall draw from hence is, that the Lords had reaſon to put the Tryal of the five Popiſh Lords firſt, and that the Commons neceſſitated them ſo to do, by that Extraordinary Vote, by ſtarting a new Controverſy about the Juriſdiction of the Biſhops in all Capital cauſes; and by refuſing them liberty to do as they always had done before, that is to withdraw upon Leave, with the uſual proteſtations entered; all which things were not preſently to be given up, nor could ſuddenly be determined.

The reſt of that day was ſpent in two Conferences, the one concerning the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and the other about the Tryals; in which the Long reaſons I mentioned were delivered.

On

On *Tueſday* the 27*th* of *May*, The *Habeas Corpus* Bill was agreed at a Conference betwixt the two Houſes.

Then a Meſſage was ſent by the Lords to the Commons to acquaint them that his Majeſty was coming in his Robes, who accordingly ſent for the Commons, and having paſſed;

1. An Act *for the reingroſſing the Records of Fines, burnt or loſt in the late Fire in the Temple:*

2. An Act *for the better ſecuring of the Liberty of the Subject, and for preventing impriſonment beyond Seas.* Which is that I call the *Habeas Corpus* Act for ſhortneſs. Which were all that had been got ready for his Royal aſſent in this Seſſion of Parliament:

His Majeſty made a ſhort Speech to this effect.

My Lords and Gentlemen;

"I Was in good hopes that this Seſſion would have "produced great good to the Kingdom, and that "you would have gone on unanimouſly, for the good "thereof; but to my great grief, I ſee that there are "ſuch differences between the two Houſes, that I "am afraid very ill effects will come of them. I know "but one way of Remedy for the preſent, aſſuring "you, that in the mean time I ſhall ſhew my ſincerity "with the ſame Zeal I met you here; and therefore "my Lord Chancellor I command you to do as I have "Ordered you.

Who immediately Prorogued both Houſes to the 14*th* day of *Auguſt* following.

The news of this Prorogation of the Parliament, was no ſooner ſpread about the Nation, but the cry was taken up by the zealous Impoſtors, that it was

done of purpoſe to hinder the Tryal of the Popiſh Lords: for as for the E. of *D.* the People were generally unconcern'd what came of him. And dreadful Stories were told in Coffee-houſes, Ale-houſes, Taverns, and Meeting houſes of the danger of Popery, and what great favourers they had at Court, not ſparing his Majeſty.

But this was not all, the Act for Regulating Printing, expiring with this Seſſion, of which no care was taken, notwithſtanding his Majeſty recommended it ſo ſeriouſly to the Parliament by the Lord Chancellour, at the opening of it. The Nation became preſently ſo peſtred with a ſwarm of Lying, Seditious treaſonable and ſcandalous Pamphlets, Papers and Pictures; that a man would have thought Hell had been broken looſe. His Majeſty, the Church, the Government, were repreſented every day by them in the moſt odious manner that ſpite, falſehood, and malice could invent; to beget a diſaffection in the people to the Government, and to involve us in another Rebellion. And if any man preſumed to Defend them, he was preſently a Papiſt in Maſquerade, a Tory or Tantivy man; and very often threatned with the Parliament. All which was done without doubt out of as pure kindneſs to his Majeſty, and to beget honour to the Government, and tended as apparently to the Intereſt and Safety of the Proteſtant Religion, as the *Jews* Crys of *Crucify him, Crucify him*, did to the delivery of our Saviour out of the hands of *Pilate*.

There was an Accident that began in this Seſſion of Parliament, and received its occaſional being from ſome Diſtemper'd Spirits. In *March* 1679, there was a Speech ſaid to be made in the Houſe of Lords

Lords by a certain * Earl, and by the Diſſenters and Commonwealth Party ſpread about the three Kingdoms with a mighty Zeal, which in *Scotland* was followed with the uſual effects of ſuch like Speeches, and in regard that it may adminiſter much conſolation to that Party to read it over again that were ſo well pleaſed with it before, I will reprint it here word for word.

* *This Speech is Printed in a Pamphlet called* An impartial account of divers remarkable Proceedings in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament. *London* 1679. *folio.*

My Lords,

'You are appointing of the State of *England* to be 'taken up in a Committee of the whole Houſe, ſome 'day next week. I do not know how well what I have 'to ſay may be received, for I never ſtudy either 'to make my Court well or to be popular; I always 'ſpeak what I am commanded by the *Dictates of the* '*Spirit within me.*

'There are ſome Conſiderations that concern *Eng-* '*land* ſo neerly that without them you will come far 'ſhort of ſafety and quiet at home: We have a little 'Siſter, and ſhe hath no Breaſts; what ſhall we do for 'our Siſter in the day when ſhe ſhall be ſpoken for? 'If ſhe be a wall we will build on her a palace of ſil- 'ver, if ſhe be a door, we will encloſe her with boards 'of Cedar. We have ſeveral Little Siſters without 'Breaſts, the *French* Proteſtant Churches, the two 'Kingdoms of *Ireland* and *Scotland*; the Foreign Pro- 'teſtants are a Wall, the only Wall and defence to *Eng-* '*land*, upon it you may build Palaces of Silver, Glori- 'ous Palaces. The protection of the Proteſtants a- 'broad, is the greateſt power and ſecurity the Crown 'of *England* can attain to, and which can only help 'us to give check to the growing greatneſs of *France.*

'*Scotland*

'*Scotland* and *Ireland*, are two doors, either to let in 'good or miſchief upon us; they are much weakened 'by the Artifice of our cunning Enemies, and we ought 'to Incloſe them with Boards of Cedar.

'*Popery and Slavery*, like two Siſters, go hand in 'hand, ſometimes one goes firſt, ſometimes the other, 'in at doors, but the other is always following cloſe 'at hand.

'In *England* Popery was to have brought in Sla-'very; in *Scotland* Slavery went before, and Popery 'was to follow.

'I do not think your Lordſhips or the Parliament 'have Juriſdiction there, it is an Ancient Kingdom; 'they have an Illuſtrious Nobility, a Gallant Gentry, 'a Learned Clergy, and an underſtanding worthy 'People: but yet we cannot think of *England* as we 'ought, without reflecting on the condition they are 'in. They are under the ſame Prince, and the influ-'ence of the ſame Favourites and Councils; when 'they are hardly dealt with, can we that are the 'Richer expect better uſage? for 'tis certain, that in all 'Abſolute Governments, the pooreſt Countries are 'always moſt favourably dealt with.

'When the Ancient Nobility and Gentry there, 'cannot enjoy their Royalties, their Shreivaldoms, 'and their Stewardaries, which they and their An-'ceſtors have poſſeſſed for ſeveral Hundreds of years; 'but that now they are enjoyned by the Lords of the 'Council, to make deputations of their Authorities, 'to ſuch as are their known Enemies.

'Can we expect to enjoy our *Magna Charta* long, 'under the ſame Perſons and Adminiſtration of af-'fairs? If the Council Table there can impriſon any 'Noble-man or Gentleman for ſeveral years, without 'bringing him to Tryal, or giving the leaſt reaſon for

'what

'what they do; can we expect the ſame men will 'preſerve the Liberty of the Subject here?

'I will acknowledge I am not well vers'd in the 'particular Laws of *Scotland*; but this I do know, 'that all the Northern Countreys have by their 'Laws, an undoubted and inviolable Right to their 'Liberties and Properties; yet *Scotland* hath outdone 'all the Eaſtern and Southern Countreys, in having 'their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates ſubjected to the 'Arbitrary will and pleaſure of them that Govern. 'They have lately plundered and haraſſed the Richeſt 'and Wealthieſt Countries of that Kingdom, and 'brought down the Barbarous *Highlanders* to devour 'them; and all this without a moſt colourable pre-'tence to do it. Nor can there be found a reaſon of 'State for what they have done, but that thoſe wick-'ed Miniſters deſigned to procure a Rebellion at 'any rate; which as they managed, was only pre-'vented by the miraculous hand of God, or other-'wiſe all the Papiſts in *England* would have been 'armed, and the faireſt opportunity given in the juſt 'time for the execution of that wicked and bloody de-'ſign the Papiſts had; and it is not poſſible for any 'man that duly conſiders it, to think other, but that 'thoſe Miniſters that acted that, were as guilty of 'the Plot, as any of the Lords that are in queſtion 'for it.

'My Lords, I am forced to ſpeak this the plainer, 'becauſe till the preſſure be fully and clearly taken off 'from *Scotland*, 'tis not poſſible for me or any think-'ing man to believe that good is meant us here.

'We muſt ſtill be upon our guard, apprehending 'that the Principle is not changed at Court, and that 'theſe men that are ſtill in place and Authority, have 'that influence upon the Mind of our excellent

Prince

'Prince. that he is not, nor cannot be that to us, 'that his own Nature and Goodneſs would incline 'him to.

'I know your Lordſhips can order nothing in this, 'but there are thoſe that hear me, can put a perfect 'cure to it; until that be done, the *Scotch Weed* is like 'Death in the Pot. *Mors in Olla.* But there is ſome-'thing too, now I conſider, that moſt immediately 'concerns us; their Act of Twenty two Thouſand 'men to be ready to invade us upon all occaſions. 'This I hear, that the Lords of the Council there, 'have treated as they do all other Laws, and ex-'pounded it into a Standing Army of ſix thouſand 'men. I am ſure we have reaſon and right to be-'ſeech the King that that Act may be better conſi-'dered in the next Parliament there. I ſhall ſay no 'more for *Scotland* at this time, I am afraid your 'Lordſhips will think I have ſaid too much, having 'no concern there. But if a *French* Noble-man, 'ſhould come to dwell in my Houſe and Family, I 'ſhould think it concerned me to ask what he did 'in *France*, for if he were there a Felon, a Rogue, 'a Plunderer, I ſhould deſire him to live elſe-where; 'and I hope your Lordſhips will do the ſame thing 'for the Nation, if you find the ſame cauſe.

'My Lords give me leave to ſpeak two or three words 'concerning our other Siſter *Ireland*; thither I hear 'is ſent *Douglas*'s Regiment, to ſecure us againſt the '*French*. Beſides I am credibly informed, that the 'Papiſts have their Arms reſtored, and the Prote-'ſtants are not many of them yet recovered from be-'ing the ſuſpected Party; the Sea-Towns as well as 'the Inland, are full of Papiſts: that Kingdom can-'not long continue in the *Engliſh* hands, if ſome bet-'ter care be not taken of it. This is in your power,

'and

'and there is nothing there, but is under your Laws, 'therefore I beg that this Kingdom at leaſt may be taken in conſideration, together with the State of 'England: for I am ſure there can be no ſafety here, 'if theſe doors be not ſhut up and made ſure.

Whether any ſuch Harangue was made in that *Auguſt* aſſembly or not, I cannot ſay; but I am ſure that all the Seditious and Treaſonable Pamphlets that have been ſince Printed, are but flouriſhes upon this Text, and an extract of thoſe that went before them, the very model of the laſt Rebellion, and probably the deſign of an other. But *England* and *Ireland* are not as yet ripe for ſo generous an undertaking. But to ſhew you how matters paſt in *Scotland*, I will Tranſcribe the very words of my Author, and leave the credit of them with him.

By the very next poſt after this Speech was ſaid to have been ſpoken, Forty written Coppies of it were ſent from *London* to *Edenbrough*; and the Fanaticks grew ſo inſolent and ſo daring upon it, that ſeveral Loyal Gentlemen, wrote up accounts, to what height of Inſolences this Speech had blown up the Enemies of the Church and the Monarchy; and that they had juſt reaſons to fear that very dangerous attempts, if not a down-right Rebellion would ſpeedily enſue thereupon: but thoſe reports found not too much credit at *London*; where the world was made to believe by men (whoſe intereſt it was that they ſhould not be credited) that they were but the inventions of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, for whoſe advantage in that conjucture, it was that they ſhould be believed.

The Spirit of Popery, ſpeaking in the Phanatical Protestants. pag. 73. Lon. lon. 1680. *fol.*

My Author goes on that he is confident (ſuch is his charity) he that made it, would not have done ſo, had he known the true State of *Scotland*, which

The Effects.

 few

few *Engliſh* men do, or foreſeen the evil effects, which it immediately had, in encouraging the Covenanteers to Aſſaſſinate, Maſſacre and Rebel. For now they begin to look and ſpeak big in *Edenbrough*; and many of them were heard and ſeen upon the *Crown of the Cauſway*, who had ſneeked about in darkneſs before. And as for the diſaffected parts of the Country, they now diſplay'd *the Banners of Jeſus Chriſt*, (as they Blaſphemouſly call'd their colours) at their Conventicles every where, and their Preachers now told them, *that the time of their deliverance, and of Gods taking Vengeance upon his Enemies, was now at hand; only they muſt repent, and be ſtrong, and of a great courage, and fight the Battles of the Lord.* They alſo threatned in all places, ſuch as they thought were ſeriouſly active againſt them, talking of great Changes and Revolutions in *England*, and in Publick Places, dropt Liſts of the Names of thoſe men, whom they had a mind ſhould fall by Heroical Hands. And in the firſt place naming Dr. *Sharp* the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* and Primate of *Scotland*, whom they meekly ſtiled, *That perjured Apoſtate Prelate Sharp.* Threatning to handle him and the reſt ſeverely.

Having ſpent a few Weeks in theſe godly Exhortations, animating each other to this good work, and being thereunto further encouraged by the Brethren in *London*, the third of *May* following, they began the work with the murther of the ſaid Archbiſhop; and I will inform you of the manner of that Butchery in the words of the ſame Author.

The Archbiſhop had been attending his Majeſties Service in the Privy Council at *Edenbrough*, from thence he went over into *Fife*, in the after-noon, on the Second of *May* 1679. That night he lodged at Captain

Captain *Seaton*'s Houſe, in a Village called *Kennoway*, which is in the Mid-way betwixt *Bruntiſland* and St. *Andrews*. About Midnight as the People of the Town report, two men well mounted and armed, came thither to enquire if the Arch-biſhop of St. *Andrews* was Lodged at Captain *Seaton*'s; and as ſoon as they were informed that he was, they preſently rode out of the Town again.

The next morning being the Third of *May*, ſeveral Parties of Horſe-men were ſeen to traverſe the Road betwixt *Kennoway* and St. *Andrews*, who doubtleſs were the Aſſaſſins, who watched for an opportunity to effect the Murther which they had long deſigned. But the Lord Primate who was a man of great Natural courage, and whom ſo many deliverances for almoſt Twenty years, from the hands of thoſe bloody Zealots, had now brought to an entire confidence in God's Protection, took Coach about Nine of the Clock, without any preſage or apprehenſion of danger.

He had none but his Eldeſt Daughter to ride with him in the Coach, and only three Servants on Horſe-back to attend him; one of whom he had ſent before he was aſſaulted, to pay his reſpects to a Perſon of Honour, by whoſe houſe he paſſed on his Road. He advanced on his journey in great ſecurity till he came to a little Country Village called *Magus*, two miles diſtant from St. *Andrews* betwixt Eleven and Twelve a Clock in the Fore-noon.

There he firſt perceived himſelf to be purſued by Eleven or Twelve men barefaced, well mounted, with Piſtols cocked in their hands, and drawn Swords hanging in Strings from their Armes; as ſoon as he ſpied them, he bid his Coachman drive

fast as his Horses could gallop, but alas too late, for the Assassin furiously pursued him, and in their pursute, shot at him several times in his Coach, running as fast as six good Horses could draw it. The Coachman (who discovered the Villains before his Lord, and had thereupon begged leave of him, but was not permitted to gallop away) had certainly outdriven them, if one *Balfour* of *Kinlock*, mounted on a very fleet bay horse, had not overtaken them; who not daring to attack the Coachman, because his Whip did fright his Sprightly horse, therefore rod up to the Postilion, whom he wounded with his Sword in the face, shot one of the foremost Horses, and hamstringed the other, and so stopped the Coach.

By that time this was done, the rest of the Murtherers came up, and one of them fired a Pistol or Blunderbuss so near his Breast, that his Daughter rubbed off the burning which stuck to his Gown. Then they called him by the Name of *Dog*, *Villain*, *Apostate*, *Persecuter of the Godly*, *Betrayer of Jesus Christ and his Church*, and bid him come out of his Coach, to receive what he deserved for his wickedness against the Kirk of *Scotland*.

Upon this his Daughter got out of the Coach, and fell on her knees, begging her Father's Life; but they regarded neither her Prayers nor Tears, but threw her down several times upon the ground, trampled upon her and wounded her: which her tender hearted Father seeing, after much reproachful Language, and many Threatnings, came meekly out of the Coach, and with calmness said unto them, *Gentlemen, I know not that I have ever injured any of you, or if I did I am ready to make you reparation; and therefore I beseech you to spare my life, and I promise I will never pursue you for this violence,*

and

and I pray you consider, before you bring the guilt of Innocent blood upon your selves.

The reverence of his Presence, and his undaunted Courage in addressing himself so resolutely and gravely unto them, surprised them, and made them stand a little while, as it were unresolved what to do; and one of them relenting, Cried to the rest, *Spare these Grey Hairs*: but their cruel Zeal overcoming their Natural Pity and Justice, paused not long before they replyed, *He must die, He must die.* And then again calling him *Traiterous Villain, Judas, betrayer of the Interest of Christ, Enemy to God and his People*, said unto him, *Thou shalt now receive the reward of thy Apostacy, and enmity to the People of God.*

Then seeing them determined to take away his Life, he begged a little while to pray, *telling them, he would pray for them*; but they scornfully told him, *That they cared not for his Prayers, being sure that God would not hear so base a Dog as he was.* Then looking stedfastly upon one of the Assassins, whom he seemed to know, he kneeled down before him, and said unto him, *Sir you are a Gentleman, and I must beg my last favour from you, that since you are resolved that I must dye, you would have pity upon my poor child here, and spare her life, and for this, Sir give me your hand:* and thereupon stretching his hand towards the cruel man, he had for a return, a very great blow with a Shable, which almost quite cut off his Hand, and the Villain redoubling his Stroak, gave him another violent Wound upon the left Eye, which cut him two Inches above it, and one below; this Stroak knocked him down, but getting up upon his Knees again, he said, *Gentlemen, it is now enough, you have done your work*; and holding up his Hands (as well

as

as he could) to Heaven, he fervently cryed out, *Lord Jesus, have mercy on my Soul, nd receive my Spirit.* While he was in this Posture of Devotion, they wounded him in his Hands which he held up to Heaven, and in other parts of his Body, till in a kind of composure he laid down his Head upon his Arm, saying *God forgive you, and I forgive you all.*

These were the last words which he uttered, like an excellent Christian; after which they gave him no less then sixteen Wounds on his Head; some of them as they were going away, thought they heard him groan, which made them go back, and to make sure work, stir about his Brains in the Scull with the points of their Swords. His Head seemed to be all one Wound; and pieces of his shattered Scull, and Brains were some days after found on the Ground that Unhallowed *Golgotha* where he was slain.

Having finished their long desired Murther, they made his Servants Solemnly swear not to discover them, and then bad them in derision take up their Priest, and having said so, rode back to *Magus*; where they first assaulted the Coach; and one of them, by Name *John Balfour* of *Kinlock*, as he passed by that Town, was heard to say very audibly and distinctly, *That now Judas was killed.*

A Proclamation being published in his Majesties Name for the discovery of these abominable execrable Murtherers, and search made among the Tenants and Heritors of the Shire of *Fife*, and the Inhabitants of *Magus* being examined upon oath; it was made apparent, that the bloody Assassins, and many others, who were strongly presumed to have been Abetters, and Contrivers of the Murther, were

notorious

notorious *Fanaticks, Frequenters of Field-Conventicles, and Followers of Mr.* Welsh, *and other Traiterous intercommuned and Rebellious Preachers*; Nine of the Actors in this Tragedy were discovered by their Names and Sirnames, which are as followeth.

John Balfour of Kinlock, David Hackston of Rathilettet, George Balfour in Gilston, James Russel in Kings-Kettle, Robert Dingwall a Farmers Son in *Caddam, Andrew Guillan* Weaver *in Balmerinoch, Alexander Hinderson and Andrew Hinderson, Sons to John Hinderson in Killbrachmont, George Fleming, Son to George Fleming in Balbuthy.*

The rebellion interrupting the course of Justice against these miscreants for some time, the 20*th* day of *September* 1679, there was another Proclamation published for the apprehending those Nine, and all others that were in the Rebellion, and were Heritors or Ministers.

But by this time the Murtherers and Rebels, had fled the Kingdom, notwithstanding all imaginable care and diligence to prevent their escape; and whilst the Covenanting Army lay at *Glascow*, one of the *Balfours*, as a very credible Gentleman, who was then the Town, told me (saith my Author) openly boasted of the Murther as a glorious fact; and said holding up his Arm, *This hand helped to kill the Fox.* And five of the Accomplices, Complotters and Abetters of the Murther, chose to dye, and be hung up in Chains upon the place, rather then confess the sinfulness of the action, by acknowledging it was a Murther or a Sin.

The Fanatical Party, foretold it in several places, and the Morning before it was committed, one of the Assassins like a Jesuit Consecrated to an Heroical Act, after a solemn Sacrilegious form, held up his hand

hand, and ſwore, that *That hand ſhould kill the Arch-Prelate*; upon which the Holy Siſter his Hoſteſs, kiſſed him. And it is notoriouſly known in *Scotland*, that he, who commanded the foot for Mr. *Welſh* upon *Reupar Law (that famous Field Conventicle)* owned that their Friends thanked God for the Archbiſhops death, which neither they nor their abetters in either Kingdom will call Murther, when they have occaſion to Speak thereof.

My Author goes further, and ſhews how the Predeceſſors of theſe Godly Cut-throats *Norman Leſly*, *John Leſley*, *Peter Carmichael* and *James Meluil* Aſſaſſinated Cardinal *Beton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* in his Caſtle there in cold blood, gravely, and with the preface of an harangue; which *Knox* commends, calling the Principal Murtherer, *a Meek man of God*: an odd kind of Presbyterian meekneſs which our Saviour doth not commend.

From thence he deſcends, and ſhew their Principles both Anicent and Modern, upon which they build theſe bloody practiſes. He tells as Goodman *Knox*'s Companion in his Diſcourſe of Tyranny and Popery, *pag.* 30. hath theſe words, *All men are bound to ſee the Laws of God kept, and to ſuppreſs and reſiſt Idolatry by force.* Nor is it ſufficient for Subjects not to obey the wicked Commands of Princes; *but they muſt reſiſt them, and deliver the Children of God out of the hands of their Enemies, as we would deliver a Sheep that is indanger to be devoured by a Wolf.* And if the Magiſtrates refuſe to put Maſſ-mongers and Falſe Preachers (now all Biſhops and Church-miniſters in their eſteem are ſuch) to death, the people *in ſeeing it performed*, ſhew that zeal of God which was commended in *Phineas*.

Hence

Hence all Kirk Writers ſince his Majeſties Return, ſuch as *Napthali, Jus populi, The Apologetical Narration, The Poor mans Cup, The Hiſtory of the Indulgence* (as he tells us) call the Biſhops *Apoſtates, Perjured Prelates, a perjured Fraternity; Traitors to Chriſt, Enemies to his people, Idolaters, Backſliders.* All which is meant of forſaking the Covenant, and Presbyterian Government, and is the very Language they murthered the Archbiſhop with; which ſhews they were not Jeſuits but arrant Presbyterians that did the Wicked fact; and my ſaid Author quotes this Paſſage from *Jus Populi, pag.* 415. *The fact of* Phineas *was a Laudable Act of juſtice, and a precedent for Judges and Magiſtrates in all times coming, and that by his Example any Member of the Council (for Phineas roſe from among the Congregation) might lawfully riſe up and execute judgment on this wicked Wretch (the Archbiſhop) and his curſed Fraternity, who have brought by their Apoſtacy and defection from the Covenant, and cauſe of God, the wrath of God upon the Land.*

For the reſt, I ſhall refer my Reader to that ingenious Author, from whom I had not Tranſcribed all this, but to prompt others to read him, and to Supply that Defect to them who cannot get that Book.

The news of this Execrable and Barbarous Murther, was ſoon diffuſed all over *England*, and it may be all the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, and entertained by all People who were not poiſoned with this Presbyterian Leven, with horror and deteſtation. The reſt began to qualify and allay it, with ill Characters of the poor man; or to divert it from the right Agents, by laying it one while upon the Jeſuits, and another while upon the Tenants of the Archbiſhop.

But they foreſaw theſe things would not do their buſineſs, and therefore their friends in *London* did what they could to inſtigate an Addreſs againſt the Duke of *Lauderdale*, which was the man they moſt hated and feared of all the world, and who if he were not removed would certainly proſecute and revenge this Murther; now ſo it fell out, that though not upon their ſollicitation, there was an Addreſs Voted the *6th* of *May*, which paſs'd the Eighth.

The Addreſs which I think fit to be inſerted here was as followeth.

We your Majeſties moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, finding your Majeſties Kingdoms involved in eminent Dangers, and great difficulties, by the evil deſigns, and pernicious Counſels of ſome, who have been, and are in high places of truſt and Authority about your Royal Perſon: who contrary to the duty of their places by their Arbitrary and Deſtructive Counſels, tending to the ſubverſions of the Rights, Liberties, and Properties of your Subjects, and the alteration of the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſht, have endeavoured to alienate the Hearts of your Loyal Subjects from your Majeſty, and your Government. Amongſt whom, we have juſt reaſon to accuſe John *Duke of* Lauderdale, *for a chief Promoter of ſuch Counſels, and more particularly for contriving and endeavouring to raiſe jealouſies and miſunderſtandings between your Majeſties Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *whereby Hoſtilities might have enſued, and may ariſe between both Nations if not prevented.*

Wherefore we your Majeſties Loyal Subjects could not but be ſenſibly affected with trouble to find ſuch a Perſon (notwithſtanding the repeated Addreſſes of the laſt Parliament) continued in your Counſels at this time, when the affaires of your Kingdom require none to be put into ſuch imployments,

ployments, but such as are men of known abilities, Interest and esteem in the Nation, without all suspition of either mistaking, or betraying the true interest of the Kingdom, and consequently of advising your Majesty ill. We do therefore most humbly beseech your most sacred Majesty for the taking away the great Jealousies, Dissatisfactions, and Fears amongst your good Subjects, that your Majesty will gratiously be pleased to remove the Duke of Lauderdale *from your Majesties Counsels in your Majesties Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland, *and from all offices, imployments and places of trust, and from your Majesties Presence for ever.*

This Address they presented to his Majesty the day following, to which his Majesty replyed he would consider of it, and return an Answer.

But in the mean time, it was doubtless sent after the Speech into *Scotland*, where it found all things rather necessitated to a Rebellion than disposed, the Murther of so illustrious a Person as the Primate of that Kingdom, and one of his Majesties Privy Counsel there, was a Villany not to be smothered. And the Proclamation published the day after the fact, for the discovery and apprehending of the Assassines, representing the Act (as it deserved with great detestation) had further allarm'd the whole Party; who had as they thought, no other way to escape the deserved revenge, but by justifying the Murther with a Rebellion. And finding by this Address, that the House of Commons in *England* were in this critical moment, pressing upon their dreadful Enemy the Duke of *Lauderdale*, they took it for granted, God had espoused their cause; and if they could make a head in *Scotland*, they should be seconded out of *England*, hoping perhaps to be as well rewarded for this, as they were for beginning the former Rebellion,

and ſo being puſhed forward by their deſtiny and deſperation on they went.

On *Tueſday*, the 27*th* of *May* 1679, The Parliament was prorogued; and the *Thurſday* following, which was the 29*th* of the ſame month, the *Scotch* Covenanters who knew nothing of it, began their Rebellion at *Ragland* in *Scotland*, to which place about fourſcore men well mounted and armed, came and proclaimed the Covenant, and burnt ſeveral Acts of Parliament, and affixed this following Declaration on the Market Croſs.

As the Lord had been pleaſed ſtill to keep and preſerve his Intereſt in the Land, by the Teſtimony of ſome faithful Witneſſes from the beginning, ſo in our days ſome have not been wanting, who through the greateſt of Hazards, had added their Teſtimonies to theſe who have gone before them, by ſuffering death, Baniſhment, Torturings, Finings, Forfeitures, impriſonments, &c. *Flowing from cruel and perfidious Adverſaries to the Church and Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the Land. Therefore we owning the Intereſt of Chriſt according to the word of the Lord, and the* National and Solemn League and Covenant, *deſire to add our Teſtamony to the Teſtimonies of the Worthies that has gone before (though unworthy, yet hoping as true Members of the Church of Chriſt in* Scotland) *and that againſt all things that has been done prejudicial to his intereſt, from the beginning of the work of Reformation in* Scotland; *eſpecially from the year* 1648, *to the year* 1660, *againſt theſe following Acts.*

1. The Act of Supremacy.

2. The Declaration whereby the *Covenants* are condemned.

3. The Act for Everſion of the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church, and for eſtabliſhing Prelacy,

lacy, and for the Outing of Chriſts Miniſters, who could not conform thereto, by an Act Reſciſſory of all Acts of Parliament and Aſſemblies for the Eſtabliſhment of the Covernment of the Church of *Scotland*, according to the Word.

4. As likewiſe the Act of Council at *Glaſgow*, putting that Act reciſſory in execution, where at one time, were violently caſt out above three hundred Miniſters, without any Legal procedures.

5. As likewiſe the Act, appointing a Holy Anniverſary Day to be kept, upon the *29th* of *May*, for giving thanks for the upſetting of an uſurping Power, deſtroying the Intereſt of the Church in the Land, which is to ſet up the Creature to be worſhipped in the room of our Great Redeemer, and to conſent to the aſſuming of the power that is proper to the Lord alone, for the appointing Ordinances in his Church, as particularly the Government thereof, and the keeping of *Holy-days*, and all other ſinful and unlawful Acts Emitted and Executed by them.

And for Confirmation of this our Teſtimony, we do hereby this day, being the 29th day of May, *1679, Publickly burn them at the Croſs of* Ragland *moſt Juſtly; as they perfidiouſly and Blaſphemouſly had burnt our Holy Covenants, through ſeveral Cities of the Covenanted Kingdoms. We judge none will take exception at our not ſubſcribing this our Teſtimouy, being ſo ſolemnly gone about; for we are ready always to do it, if judged neceſſary, with all the faithful ſuffering Brethren in the Land.*

They intended to have affixed this Declaration at *Glaſgow* too, but were prevented by the Kings Forces there.

On the *Sunday* following, they Rendevouſed upon

Loudon

Loudon Hill being then. 14, or 1500 men, well armed and in good order, the foot commanded by one *Weir*, and the Horſe by *Robert Hamilton*, one *Patron*, *Balfour* and *Hackſton*; (theſe two laſt being of the number of them that murthered the Arch-biſhop, and conſequently moſt concerned to carry the Rebellion as far as they could;) being thus diſpoſed and Ordered, one Captain *Graham* of *Claver* Houſe, marched againſt them with a troop of Horſe, and a Company of Dragoons, upon whoſe approach, the Rebels ſent out two Parties to Skirmiſh with him, which he beat into their main body; and then they advanced with their whole force upon him: So that after a conſiderable ſlaughter of them, and the loſs of his Cornet, two Brigadiers, and about eight Horſe, and twenty Dragoons (his own horſe being killed under him, and he mounting another) being ſo much over-powered in number, he made his retreat towards *Glaſgow*, being in his way forced to fight his way through the Townſmen of *Streuin*, who were got together to oppoſe it, leaving ten, or twelve of them dead upon the place.

On *Munday* the Second day of *June*, the Rebells in the morning attacked the City of *Glaſgow*, at two ſeveral times, but all the Streets were ſo well Barracadoed by the Lord *Roſs*, and the Souldiers there put into ſo good a poſture, that they were beat off with conſiderable loſs, beſides many Priſoners that were taken, and thereupon the Horſe and Dragoons in the Town ſallied out, and purſued them upon their drawing off.

In the Interim, the Council of *Scotland*, having firſt given an account of this Rebellion to his Majeſty, publiſhed a Proclamation for the ſuppreſſion of it; and that failing, Levied what forces they could

to

to oppoſe them, by which means they were kept together, not daring to part to plunder; and their Number was alſo kept from increaſing as otherwiſe it might have done. But yet the Council knowing the Rebels could not continue long together, would not fight them till his Majeſty ſhould ſend them orders ſo to do, and a general.

His Majeſty and the Council here reſolved to ſend down his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, who had given good proof of his Courage in *Flanders*, and elſewhere; who undertaking the enterpriſe againſt the Rebels, went poſt into *Scotland* for that purpoſe.

The Rebels in the interim having poſſeſt themſelves of *Glaſgow*, grew inſolent at firſt, and publiſhed a Proclamation in theſe terms.

WE *the Officers of the Covenanted Army, do require and command you the Inhabitants of the Burgh of* Glaſgow, *to furniſh us with Twenty four Carts, and ſixty Baggage Horſes, for removing our Proviſion from this Place to our Camp, whereever we ſhall ſet down the ſame, and to abide with us for that end, during our pleaſure, under the pain of being reputed our Enemies, and proceeded againſt accordingly.*

And another thus.

WE *the Officers of the Covenanted Army, do require and command the Magiſtrates of* Glaſgow, *to Extend and Baniſh forth thereof, all Arch--*

Archbishops, Bishops and Curates, their Wives, Bairns and Servants, and all other families and persons concern'd in the Kings Army, within eight and forty houres, after the Publishing hereof, under the Highest pains.

You have seen before what bad Subjects they were, and these two will show what insolent Masters they proved, but their Dominion was not long.

That which first amated them, was the news of the Prorogation of the Parliament in *England*, upon which they chiefly depended, and in all probability had never risen, but that they were forced into a belief, that they were sure on that side: not that I think the Parliament would have been any way serviceable to them, but they were made to believe so in *Scotland*, where any thing that looked that way, was magnified above its real bigness. But that being gone, and the rest of *Scotland* continuing quiet, or Arming against them, and their friends in *Edenborough*, being kept from joyning with them; they began to suspect the worst, and so fell a little from their first fury, and published this second Declaration for their Vindication.

AS it is not unknown to a great part of the World, how happy the Church of Scotland *was, whilst they enjoyed the Ordinances of Jesus Christ in purity and power; of which we have been deplorably deprived by the establishment of Prelacy: So it is Evident not only to impartial persons, but*

but to professed Enemies, with what unparallel'd patience and constancy the People of God have endured all the Cruelty, Injustice and Oppression that the Will and Malice of Prelates and Malignants could invent and exercise. And being most unwilling to Act any thing which might import opposition to Lawful Authority, or engage the Kingdom in a War, although we have all along been groaning under the overturning the work of Reformation, Corruptions of Doctrine, Slighting of Worship, Despising of Ordinances, the changing the Antient Church Discipline and Government, Thrusting out so many of our faithful Ministers from their Charges, Confining, streightly Imprisoning, exiling yea and putting to death many of them, and intruding upon their Flocks, a company of insufficient and scandalous persons, and Fining, Confining, Imprisoning, Torturing, Tormenting, Scourging and Stigmatizing poor people, Plundring their Goods, Quartering upon them rude Souldiers, Selling their persons to forreign Plantations,

* *Horning and Intercommuning many of both, whereby great Numbers in every Corner of the Land, were forced to leave their Dwellings, Wives, Children, and Relations, and made to wander as Pilgrims still in hazard of their Lives; none daring to reset, harbour or supply (though starving) or so much*

* *Horning* is Out Lawing. There is nothing like intercommuning with us; for if any man hold any correspondency with the offender, he is to be adjudged a Rebel of the same guiltiness; all which severities they themselves first set up and practised against others.

The Burthen of Issachar. Printed 1646. *pag.* 41, 42.

much as to speak to them, even upon death bed, without making themselves obnoxious to the same punishments, and these things Acted under coulour of Law, in effect tending to banish not only all sense of Religion, but also to extinguish Natural affection, even amongst persons of the neareſt Relations, and likewise groaning under the intollerable Yoak of Oppression in our Civil Interests, our Bodies, Liberties and Estates. So that all manner of outrages have been most arbitrarily exercised upon us through a tract of several years past; particularly in the year 1678, *by sending among us an Armed Host of Barbarous Savages, contrary to all Laws and Humanity; and by laying on us several Impositions and Taxes, as formerly. So of late by a meeting of Prelimited and Over-awed Members in the Convention of Estates in* July 1678, *for keeping up of an Armed Force intrusted (as to a great part of it) into the hands of avowed Papists, or favourers of them; by whom sundry Invasions have been made upon us, and most exorbitant abuses, and incredible Insolencies committed against us, and we being continually sought after, while meeting in Houses for divine Worship, Ministers and People frequently apprehended, and most rigorously used; and so being necessitated to attend the Lords Ordinances in Fields, in the most desart places; and there also often hunted out, and assaulted, to the effusion of our bloud, and killing*

of

of ſome, whereby we were inevitably conſtrained either to defend our ſelves by Arms at theſe meetings, or to be altogether deprived of the Goſpel preached by faithful Miniſters, and made abſolute Slaves. At one of which Meetings, upon the firſt of June *inſtant,* Captain Graham *of* Claver *Houſe, being Warranted by a late Proclamation, to kill whomever he found in Arms, at Field Conventicles, making reſiſtance, did furiouſly aſſault the people aſſembled; and further to provoke, did cruelly bind like Beaſts, a Miniſter, with ſome others, whom he had that very ſame Morning found in Houſes: and ſeveral being kill'd on both ſides; they knowing certainly, that* by Law *they behoved (if apprehended) to die; they did ſtand to their own defence, and continue together; and there after many of our Friends and Countrymen being under the ſame oppreſſion, expecting the ſame meaſure, did freely offer their aſsiſtance. We therefore thus inevitably, and of abſolute Neceſsity forced to take this laſt Remedy; (the Magiſtrates having ſhut the Door by a Law againſt application, that what ever our Grievances be, either in things Civil or Sacred, we have not the Priviledge of a Supplicant) do judg our ſelves bound to declare, That theſe with many other Horrid Grievances in Church and State (which we purpoſe to Manifeſt hereafter) are the true Cauſes of this our lawful and innocent ſelf-defence. And we do moſt ſolemnly in the*

presence of Almighty God the Searcher of all hearts, declare, That the true reasons of our continuing in Arms, candidly and sincerely are these.

1. *The defending and securing of the true Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian Government; founded upon the word of God, and summarily comprehended in our Confessions of faith, and Catechisms, and Established by the Laws of this Land. To which Kings, Nobles, and People, are solemnly sworn and engaged in our National and Solemn League and Covenant; and more particularly, the defending and maintaining the Kingly Authority of our Lord Jesus Christ over his Church, against all sinful Supremacy derogatory thereto, and encroaching thereupon.*

2. *The preserving and defending the Kings Majesty, his Person and Authority, in preservation and defence of that true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom, that the World may bear Witness with our Consciences, of our Loyalty; and that we have no thoughts or intention to diminish his just Power and Greatness.*

3. *The Obtaining of a free and Unlimited Parliament, and a free General Assembly, in Order to the Redressing our foresaid Grievances for preventing the eminent danger of Popery, and Extirpating of Prelacy from amongst us.*

This therefore being the cause we appear for, and resolve in Gods great Name to own, thereby Homologating all the Testimonies of faithful Sufferers for the truth in Scotland *these eighteen years by gone. We humbly request the Kings Majesty would restore all things as he found them, when God brought him home to his Crown and Kingdoms; and if that cannot be obtained, then we heartily and humbly invite, intreat, beseech and obtest in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, all who are under the same* * *Bonds with us, to occur in the Defence of this Countrey, Cause and Interest. And that they will not stand still and see not only us oppressed, but this foresaid cause ruined; Adversaries highly and proudly insult against God, and all good Friends of the truth discouraged. Yea, the Protestant Cause in* Britain *and* Ireland, *and even your selves within a little time made a Prey of, or else forced when we are Broken (which the good Lord prevent) dreadfully to wrong your Consciences. Finally, because we desire no mans hurt or blood, We request our Countrey men, now the standing Forces of this Kingdom, some of them being our Friends and Kinsmen, not to fight against us; least in so doing, they be found fighting against the Lord; whose cause and quarrel we are sure he will own and signally*

They are much more honest and ingenuous than our Dissenters, for that they speak frankly and freely what they mean to do; which the other deny in words, and prosecute in deeds as much as the *Scots*, as far as they durst.

* That is the Obligation of the Covenant.

nally countenance, ſeeing we fight under his Banner, who is the Lord of Hoſts.

I have taken the pains to tranſcribe this Long Declaration, not for any delight I take in it, but becauſe it is an undeniable inſtance and demonſtration, that the Kirk-men in *Scotland* did then intend to have renewed that War again that formerly brought this Nation to the very brink of Ruine, and was the means of the Barbarous Murther of his Majeſties Father, of the Baniſhment of our King and his Brothers and Siſters for twelve years; of the expence of 48 Millions of Money and Plate, and of the loſs of one hundred thouſand Lives by Fire, Sword and Famine: All which calamities were begun and carried on by theſe very men firſt in *Scotland*, by the incouragement of ſome factious men of our own Nation, and afterwards here in *England*, upon the ſame pretences. As any man may remember that is but fifty years old, and the reſt may ſee by comparing this Declaration with thoſe that were made then; and therefore I cannot but admire the Providence of God in preventing this Presbyterian Plot, by a Prorogation in the very nick of time, without which this Rebellion would in all likely-hood have had much countenance from ſome in *England*, who encouraged it Underhand, upon pretences of Countenance from above, how groundleſs ſoever; nor had it ended as it did, and where it did, if they had got the firſt battel, or but been able to have kept the Field.

But for the benefit of my Country Reader, who is not acquainted with the affairs of *Scotland*, let me obſerve two or three things for the better underſtanding of this Grand Cheat, and without which this doleful

ful Story may leave great impreſſions of pity upon the mind of an *Engliſh*-man, which theſe bloudy Rebels of all the world do not deſerve.

The Reader then ſhall be pleaſed to underſtand, that beſides this Rebellion; there was a former one at *Pentland* Hills, where theſe Covenanteers fought the Kings Forces in ranged Battel in 1666, and in many of their Field Conventicles, there was weekly Meetings of Hundreds and Thouſands of Armed men formed into Troops and Companies, ready upon all occaſions of probable capacity to fight againſt the King, for the King in *Sion*. And in 1676, they appeared ſo numerous, that the Privy Council of *Scotland* adviſed his Majeſty to ſend *Engliſh* Forces to lie in readineſs upon the Borders, and to order Viſcount *Granard* to lie with an Army on the *Iriſh* Coaſts, ready to be tranſported upon occaſion; and likewiſe upon the Motion of the Marqueſs of *Athol*, to procure the Lords of the *Highlands* a Commiſſion to march with their Vaſſals under the Command of his Majeſties Major General into the Weſt, which deſcent of the *Highlanders* is mentioned in the Declaration, and Aggravated beyond truth or reaſon, by ſtiling them Barbarians; which thoſe that knew theſe men aver they were not, (but behaved themſelves very civilly) to prevent the Field Conventicles from running together into a general Rebellion; as they did this *May*. But to come to particulars, they had a Field-faſt near *Jedburgh* in *Tiveotdale* toward the latter end of *March* 1678, where there were preſent 7 Preachers and 5000 people (the men being armed) to ſeek God for three things. 1. *That he would be pleaſed to put an end to the perſecution of his people in that Kingdom.* 2ly, *That he would have*

mercy

mercy on all thoſe that took the wicked Bond, (that was not to ſuffer any Conventicles on their Lands) and give them grace to repent. 3ly, That he would bleſs with ſucceſs thoſe Noble Lords that were gone to London *(to complain of the Duke of* Lauderdale, *and who procured the firſt Adàreſs againſt him, though to no purpoſe.)* There was another in the *March*, the *May* following, where were aſſembled eight or 9000 People to receive the Sacrament, and renew the ſolemn League and Covenant, of which the Privy Council gave his Majeſty an account. And another near *Dumbar* ſhortly after, where they fell upon the Kings forces of the *Baſſe*, that went out to diſmiſs them; and killed one of the Souldiers, and wounded more. Finally, my Author who is a learned Gentleman, ſaith, *if he ſhould go on to enumerate all the Field Meetings, till that great one, which began the Rebellion this* May, *he might write a Hiſtory.* [*The Spirit of Popery, ſpeaking out of the Mouths of Phanatical Proteſtants; or the laſt Speeches of* John Kid *and* John King, *&c. pag.* 11.

The matter of fact being thus ſtated, the Reader need not wonder they were ſeverely treated, when they ſuffered the pains of Treaſon and Rebellion; but beſides thoſe, they had committed a vaſt number of Maſſacres and Aſſaſſinations before they murthered the Primate, and this aggravated their ſufferings. Now all the cunning of this Declaration lies in this, that they tell us what they ſuffered; and perhaps truly, but not a tittle of the caſe. Which is juſt as if all the Rogues in the Nation, ſhould joyn and pen a complaint, ennumerating how many of them, ſince his Majeſties Return, have been Hanged, Quartered, Whipped, Branded, Tranſported, Pillored, Impriſoned,

Imprisoned, which never meant any hurt to his Majesty or the Government, but only to get a Living the best and easiest way they could. Now to one that is as little vers'd in our ways of Punishment as we are in the *Scotch*, it would seem a rueful Story; whilest an *English* man would smile, as knowing why they suffered all these hardships. I need not apply it, but shall add this, they have deserved ten times more then they have felt, as being the bloudiest Cut-throats in the world. So that in *Scotland* no man dare to offend them openly for fear of assassination, but such as either must by the necessity of their places, or else have good means of defending their Lives against them.

Next I observe this Declaration is nothing but a large flourish upon the Speech, and drawn just at that loose general rate which that is, calling those Taxes and Punishments Arbitrary, which they acknowledg were according to several Acts of Parliament; and then pretending the persons that do constitute their Parliaments or States, are overawed. But then I must commend their ingenuity in this, that they do not (with the Commons of *England*) lay the blame of all this upon the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or their Ministers, but upon the total change of their Government and State both Sacred and Civil, and upon the Parliament of *Scotland* and the King; whom they supplicate with menaces to restore him into the same State he found them in; without which they were sensible, the removing of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or any other of the great Ministers of State would signify nothing as to their Designs: which was as they plainly tell us, to set up the Presbyterian Doctrine and Church Government, to serve the King in nothing else, any further then he would serve them

in that. And lastly to obtain a free and unlimited Parliament and Assembly, that is such as it might not be in his Majesties power to dissolve or frustrate by prorogation; till they had extirpated Popery and Prelacy both together, which was freely and roundly to tell us what they would have, without canting and amusing us with general terms and hints, but then I must not deny they had swords by their sides to justify these demands, which our Gentlemen want, and I wish ever may do; but yet the Reader may observe that Speech that was so hugged in *England*, and the *Scotch* Declaration meant the same thing, though in different terms.

Observe also, that they call *the Presbyterian Doctrine and Government*, the Religion established; though they own it to be taken away by a rescissory Act of Parliament; for they believe all those Acts that have or shall be made against it, are Null and Void, and the former Acts are still in force though repealed: which is an odd sort of Establishment, consisting in the fancy of the people that own it, and not in Law or Nature.

They lay the stress of their Justification upon necessity, and yet own the greatest part of it to arise from hence; that they must be deprived of the Gospel preached by the faithful Ministers, and be made Slaves, if they did not rebel. Now as to their civil interest, they would be in the same State with their Country men, who are so far from rebelling, that they have several times chastised them for it, with a very little assistance from *England*. And as to their Preachments, I wonder in what part of the Gospel they learned to defend Christs Religion by rebellion;

bellion; but we muſt know this is pure *Scotch*, Calviniſtical, Jeſuitical Doctrine, begun by the Devil and his Vicar the Pope, not many hundred years ago: and for which *Bellarmine* acknowledges, there is neither Precept nor Example in the Bible, nor in all Church Hiſtory till near a thouſand years after our Saviour's time; and he gives this reaſon why the Goſpel taught patience and ſubmiſſion, becauſe the contrary would have ruined Chriſtianity then, when but a few profeſſed it, but tells us St. *Paul* would have taught otherwiſe if he had lived in our days. I ſhall not diſpute how the Cardinal or the *Scotch* Gentlemen (who talk at the ſame rate) came to know this, but I ſay, it is equally deſtructive of any other Doctrine a man hath no mind to practiſe; as of this of ſubmiſſion to Princes, and ſuffering patiently for the truth without reſiſtance. As ſuppoſe I have a mind to revenge, and they tell me of the Doctrine of meekneſs, and forgiving injuries and Enemies; if I reply, this Doctrine was adopted to the Infant ſtate of Chriſtianity, when Profeſſors were few, and expoſed to perſecution, and could have got nothing by revenging their quarrels but ruine; but the ſtate of things is otherwiſe now, and I may revenge my ſelf with ſecurity both as to my ſelf, and as to my Religion; and from thence infer that that Doctrine is ceaſed, and I am at liberty to do in that particular as I ſee cauſe; and that St. *Paul* would have taught ſo if he had lived in theſe times, I ſay if I ſhould argue thus upon their principles, it could never be anſwered; and a man might ſay as much for any other Goſpel-precept, he had no mind to obey.

But to return. The Covenanters in their first Declaration, date the rise of all their troubles from the year 1648, and that is true and worth a Note. You must know *Charles* the first had given them by the pacification all that they asked, and the long Rebel Parliament had sent them home loaden with thanks, Money and the spoils of *England* before our wars began *, but things going ill on the Parliament side, after the King had routed *Waller* in the West, and almost totally subdued the North by the valour of the E. of *Newcastle*; the Parliament having no other way to turn them, were forced to call in the *Scots* once more with Money and Promises, yea and Oaths too, to settle the Presbyterian Church Government here in *England*. These two things prevailing upon them, in they came, and that ruined the King and his Party, who at last surrendring himself to the *Scots*, they dutifully sold him to the Parliament for 300000 *lb.* as all the World knows; but the Chapmen fell out, and Independency prevailing at the same time in *England*, on it went with the same force, and ruined the poor Kirk of *Scotland*, and made this Covenanting Nation, the veriest Slaves in the world; and ever since, Presbytery there as well as in *England* have been in a feeble state: and they were oppresst in their civil Interests, Liberties and Freedoms, and made such Slaves by a standing Army of *English*, and two Forts which his Majesty hath since demolished, that a *Scot* in those days durst not have walked (as I have been told) with a Cudgel in his hand, and Parliament, general Assembly, or any other Convention, they were never to have more, nor any other Address but what they got *by most humble Supplication, only they had no Bishops; so that if his Majesty should restore*

A View of the late Troubles. cap. 18.

reſtore all things as he found them, when God brought him home to his Crown and Kingdoms, the *Scots* would have no reaſon to thank him for the favour.

But in the interim, I wonder they can reflect thus upon the time, when their calamities began, which was the very year they ſold his Majeſties Father into the hands of his Enemies, who baſely murthered him; and not be confounded with horror and ſhame at the Villany they then did; nor yet reflect upon the Juſtice of God which hath purſued them ever ſince through all the changes that have happened, and having firſt made their dear Covenanting Brethren of *England* to begin the Chaſtiſement of them, hath gone on from time to time, to baffle all their attempts to recover their Loſt Eſtate; and they have reaſon to believe he will do ſo, till the opinions and perſons of that ſchiſmatical Confederacy be rooted out of the World.

And here let our *Engliſh* Diſſenters too be pleaſed to remember, they have done worſe then the *Scots*; for they murthered that Prince which the *Scots* only ſold, and by how much they have ſmarted leſs then the *Scots*, ſo much the more is behind, and the Juſtice of God will not be reſtrained by the Act of Indemnity, but he will certainly recompenſe them according to their deſerts, with ſo much the greater ſeverity, becauſe they have abuſed the Lenity of his Anointed and his long-ſufferance.

I ſhall add but one word more, and then ſee the Cataſtrophe of theſe Rebells; and that is an humble Requeſt to the Loyal *Scots*, that they would not

not take this amiss, for I heartily applaud their fidelity to his Majesty, and acknowledge they deserve to partake of his Royal bounty and Princely favour equally with the *English*; and I wish them all that prosperity and happiness they can desire: for they are no otherwise concerned in the Covenanters, then the Church of *England* men are in the evil Actions of the *English* Dissenters.

The 20*th* of *June*, the Duke of *Monmouth* who went Post into *Scotland* for that Service, went to the Army which the Council of *Scotland* had prepared for him, which lay then at a place called *Blackburn*, where he viewed and muster'd all the Forces, and put all things in a readiness to encamp, the next day he marched with his Army to *Moorhead*, and the day following to *Bothwell* bridge. Where the Enemy lay about eight Miles distant from his second Camp.

The place where they then were, was called *Hamilton* Park, and was well chosen, if it had or could have been well defended; for there was no passage to it but over *Bothwell* bridge, which they had well lined with Musqueteers, and Barricadoed with Stones, Cart Wheels, and the like.

The Dukes Army marched in great silence and Order, and had been upon the Rebels before they had taken the Allarm; but that their foremost Guards discovered them by the light of their Matches. And so they put themselves into a posture of Defence.

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The Duke found the Rebels in two Bodies, half a Mile one from the other ; the foremoſt Party which was the weakeſt in Number, lay near the Bridge, the other near their Camp, as high as the liitle Park; where they ſtood in their Orders and Ranks.

Major *Oglethorp*, poſted himſelf upon the firſt approach near the Bridge, with the Dragoons, and the reſt of the Dukes Army drew up, upon a Hill fronting *Hamilton* Park, about a mile from the Bridge; the River being between the two Armies.

As ſoon as the Duke came to Major *Oglethorp*'s Poſt, there came out to him from the Rebels, one *David Haine*, and another of their Preachers, who preſented to his Grace, the Declaration I have recited, Printed, and a Petition ſigned by *Robert Hamilton* their General, in the name of the Covenanted Army then in Arms ; in which they prayed *that the Terms of their Declaration might be made good, and that a ſafe Conduct might be granted to ſome of their Number, to addreſs themſelves to his Grace in this Matter.*

To which the Duke replyed, *that he would not treat with them upon their Declaration, the terms of which were contrary to the Fundamental Laws of the Land, and ſuch as he would not, nor could grant*; as indeed they were too high to have been offered after a Victory; much more in the firſt approaches of a General, with a better though ſmaller Army then theirs. But then he told them, *that if they would lay down their Armes, he would receive them into the*

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Kings mercy. And with this Anſwer the two Preachers went back, deſiring ſome time to conſider; which the Duke granted them.

About half an hour after, the Rebels ſent a Paper by a Drummer, repreſenting that they were informed that his Grace came from *England*, with terms to be offered to them, and they deſired to know what he had to propoſe, that they might adviſe whether the Terms were ſuch as they could accept of.

Whether this were ſo or no, it was very imprudent in them, to ſend this Meſſage before they had excuſed themſelves in relation his firſt demands; and beſides, this was a mighty ſlight to the General to demand an account of his private Inſtructions by a Drummer with a Paper; when as it had been fitter to have ſent two or three of the beſt Gentlemen in their Army to have asked this favour, with all the Courtſhip imaginable; though their Forces had been much ſtronger then they were. For this indeed was it that made them thus inſolent, their Preachers had doubtleſs informed them, that the Dukes Army was leſs then theirs; as it is ſaid it was. And hence they concluded very ignorantly, they might ask what they pleaſed, and have it.

The Duke was not idle all this while, but had ordered his Canon to be brought down from the Body of the Army, and Planted near the Bridge, and with them he had Drawn down ſome part of his Horſe and Foot, whilſt they were treating, and took no notice of what he did, or at leaſt did not

oppoſe.

oppoſe it, ſo they were every moment in a worſe condition ~~and he was in a worſe condition,~~ and he in a better.

So that being netled with this contempt of theirs, he ſent away their Drummer with this anſwer, *that ſince they had not ſatisfied him, but rather trifled, he would receive no more meſſages from them.* And to ſhew them he was in Earneſt, whatever they were, commanded his Cannon to fire; which it no ſooner did, but the Rebels who were drawn up on the other ſide upon a riſing ground near the Bridge, threw themſelves upon the ground to avoid the ſhot. But thoſe that were placed upon the Bridge, fired at firſt pretty briskly, but after five or ſix Cannon ſhot they ran away, thoſe on the riſing ground beginning firſt; as they were a ſort of tumultuous people fitter to begin then carry on a War.

The Dukes men immediately ſeized the Bridge, and threw into the River their Barracadoes; where they took the only piece of Cannon they had, of which they had made no uſe; and then followed them up the Hill: but their Number being very ſmall, the Rebels rallied, and faced them, but had not the courage to come down upon them. So the Dukes Party returned back again to the Bridge, and one ſhot of Cannon more, made the Rebels flie to their main Body, where they ſtood again. By which, one may ſee here was neither courage nor conduct in theſe men or their Commanders.

In the mean time, the General paſſed the Army over the Bridge, and drew it up upon the riſing ground which took ſome time, and at laſt a little before they were quite in Order, the Rebels advanced upon the Army in very good order; but eſpying

the Cannon in the head of the Dukes Army, they immediately ſhifted their Order and opened in the middle, thinking it ſeems they were obliged to ſhoot ſtreight forward, but the Cannon being turn'd upon them as they then ſtood, and diſcharged three or four times, they began to run again; their Commander *Robert Hamilton* being one of the firſt; and the Dukes Dragoons and the Highlanders Advancing upon them in this Confuſion, it was a perfect Rout, and they fled all ways; the Dukes men purſuing them. In this Skirmiſh there were killed 7, or 800, and Eleven or 1200 taken Priſoners. The Horſe were wholly broken, and thoſe of the Foot that eſcaped, fled immediately to the Wood in *Hamilton* Park; where the only care was to ſecure them from flying. To which purpoſe his Grace drew up his Forces, and ſurrounded the Park, and ſent Collonel *Duglas* with a detacht Party to ferret them out of the Wood. Of the Dukes Party few men were loſt.

The next day, the Duke ſent out ſeveral Parties to purſue thoſe that were fled; marching himſelf with the Army to a Village within two miles of *Streuine*; and the twenty fourth of *June*, ſent all the priſoners which were ſaid to be 11, or 1200, under the Guard of two Militia-Regiments, and Captain *Strathan*'s Troop of Dragoons to *Edenborough*; the Magiſtrates of which place, undertook to ſecure them with the Town Guards; and accordingly put them into an incloſure with high Walls round it, at the Back of the *Gray Fryers* Church.

The next day, the Duke returned to *Edenborough*, to conſult with the Lords of the Council how to diſpoſe of the Heretors and Militia-Regiments that had

ſerved

ſerved his Majeſty on that occaſion againſt the Rebels, as alſo of thoſe that were then on their march from the ſeveral Shires; ſeeing there was then no need of their further Service. Which affair being ordered, together with ſuch other as he thought moſt neceſſary, he took Poſt-Horſes, and returned to *London*.

Thus ended the *Scotch* Rebellion, with the Common fate of ſuch ill grounded enterpriſes; it made them weaker and more hated, and ſtrengthened and confirmed the lawful Authority of his Majeſty; it being the nature of the Vulgar to loath and deſpiſe the Innocent when unfortunate; much more Rebels and Traitors.

But then theſe Zealots like their Predeceſſors who ruined the *Jews*, and *Joſephus* informs us, by their cruelty and furious bloody devotion, had beſpoke the deteſtation of all ſober men; not only by their barbarous aſſaſſination of the Primate, which was the occaſion of this Rebellion, but alſo by their inſolence and unaccountable rage and madneſs during the ſhort time it laſted. Of which I will give a few inſtances.

They Barbarouſly treated the dead Body of one *Graham* an Officer, whom they killed at that Conventicle which began the Rebellion upon the account of his Name only. They committed inſufferable Inſolences in the Houſes of the Regular Miniſters and Loyal Gentlemen as they marched along the Countrey to *Glaſgow*, Stabbing, Cutting, and Gaſhing his Majeſties Picture whereſoever they found it; particularly in the Houſe of the Laird of *Hagges*, executing

The Spirit of Popery. pag. 47.

ting that Treaſon they had entertained in their hearts upon his Effigies, becauſe his Royal Perſon was out of their reach; fooliſhly at once betraying and diſappointing their diſloyal deſigns. They behaved themſelves barbarouſly in the houſe of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, where they burnt his Books, cut in pieces his beſt Hangings and Furniture, and almoſt killed a Gentlewoman with blows, who was left to keep the Houſe, only for ſaying theſe words; *Gentlemen, I hope you'l remember that you are in the Archbiſhops Houſe.* They ſacrilegiouſly entered the Cathedral of *Glaſgow*, and finding a Tomb-ſtone over the Two Children of the Biſhop of *Arguile* with an Inſcription of a Modern date. They digged up their Bodies, run them through with their Swords, and left them lying above the ground.

An Account of the Victory; Printed at London.

And even after they were beaten, one of the Kings Souldiers, going into a Countrey houſe belonging to one of theſe Covenanters for a little Meal, as he ſtooped down to take it out of a Cheſt, was by the Maſter of the Houſe ſtabbed through the Back, for which unmanly Murther, he was immediately apprehended, and ſhot to death. Which (as the Author ſaith) ſhews the cruel and mercileſs diſpoſition of that ſort of people.

To which if you add the two inſolent Proclamations I have mentioned already; it will be no wonder the City of *Edenborough* received the news of their defeat with the greateſt joy imaginable; there being nothing to be heard there, but joyful acclamations, Ringing of Bells, and Roaring of Cannons from the Caſtle, and good ſtore of Bonfires beſides, all men dreading to fall into the hands of ſuch Godly Villains,

Villains, and therefore rejoycing at their Ruine.

The Conclusion.

And now my dear Country men, if you will but be pleaſed to reflect ſeriouſly and impartially upon what I have written with great pains for your information; I doubt not but you will conclude with me; that as never any Prince treated a People with more Candour and Lenity then his Majeſty did upon this juncture, ſo there were ſome that made very unſuitable returns to his goodneſs; and plainly diſcovered that the peace of the Kingdom, was not ſo truly aimed at by ſome of them, as it was intended by him. Notwithſtanding their loud pretences of preſerving and ſettling the Proteſtant Religion, which is inſeparably annexed to, and bound up in the other.

How far they imploy'd their time in the great concerns of the Nation, how far their Proceedings were calm and peaceable, and how far they tended to the curbing of the motions of thoſe unruly Spirits which did endeavour to diſturb them, I ſhall leave alſo to your and their ſerious thoughts.

I have all along followed the Printed Journal of this Seſſion of Parliament, tranſcribing for the moſt part the very words; except they were too long, and then abbreviating them with all the fidelity imaginable: but when all is done, I adviſe you to read the Original too.

If I ſeem too ſharp in any of my reflections, I deſire you would conſider that it is impoſſible for fleſh and bloud to be unconcerned, when a mans Prince, his Religion, his Liberty, Eſtate, and life is at the Stake; and all in danger to be ruined by the knavery of ſome, and the folly of others.

I have not catched at all opportunities to make them neither; but have left ſcope enough to my Reader to add his own, where I have ſpared mine, which he may do with more ſafety then I can.

And laſtly being ſenſible of the infirmities of mortality in general, and of my own in particular; I ſubmit my ſelf intirely to wiſer men, having had no other deſign in this, then to preſerve the Proteſtant Religion by Law eſtabliſhed, and the Civil Government, as much as in me lieth, by ſhewing how they have been endangered by others beſides the Papiſts, which will appear more fully alſo, if any occaſion ſhall preſent it ſelf, of ſpeaking further upon this Subject hereafter.

FINIS.

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